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THE  
REFORMED  
Quarterly Review.

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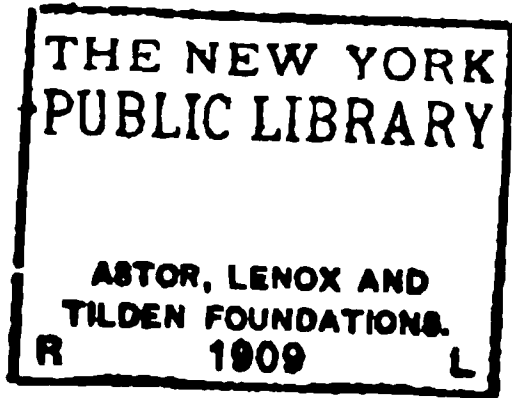
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# THE REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW

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NO. 1.—JANUARY, 1896.

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## I.

### CHARACTERISTICS OF HEBREW POETRY.\*

BY REV. F. A. GAST, D.D.

MANY readers of the Bible lose an incalculable amount of pure, refined enjoyment by failing, through inattention, to discern the poetic element in the Old Testament Scriptures. They have heard the Psalms read since their earliest childhood, when as yet their minds could neither comprehend their meaning nor perceive their beauty; they have grown so accustomed to the familiar sound that, whatever religious feelings may be awakened in them, no more æsthetic emotion is inspired in the majority of readers than by the algebraic formula:  $(x+y)^2 = x^2 + 2xy + y^2$ . Indeed, no inconsiderable effort is needed to rouse the soul in later years to a due appreciation of the sweetness and tenderness of their spiritual beauty. Yet that liberal education cannot be regarded as complete, which while it points out the splendors, and fosters a taste for the enjoyment, of the poetic creations of Greece, Rome and modern Europe, suffers a veil to

\* Somewhat altered in form from an Address delivered before the students of the College and Seminary at the opening of the institutions at Lancaster, September 12, 1895.

hide from the view of the cultivated mind that other, and, in some regards, higher realm of poetry bequeathed to the world by the psalmists and prophets and wise men of Israel. True, this poetry is of a different order, but of no less intrinsic excellence; and no one who lays claim to literary culture should be unacquainted with the productions of the Hebrew imagination.

It will surprise many, perhaps, to learn that well nigh one-half of the Old Testament is poetry. This fact is not at once apparent to the reader of the Authorized Version, which unhappily prints the poetry uniformly with the prose, in utter disregard of the laws of Hebrew versification. For the poetry of the Old Testament is poetic, not simply in virtue of its thought and sentiment and diction, but also in its outward form, which, widely different as it is from the forms of classic and modern poetry, is yet rhythmical in its movement and artificial in its structure. When arranged in lines, as it is by the Revised Version in the Poetical Books and in numerous songs scattered throughout the Historical and Prophetical Books, the form, as soon as it is explained, is easily perceived by any intelligent mind, and lends an added beauty to the poetic thought.

The poetry of the Old Testament is not limited to the books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles and Lamentations. Throughout the pages of the historians we meet with gems of song, beginning with the Sword-Song of Lamech (Gen. iv. 23, 24), which, proud, fierce, defiant, revengeful in spirit, has, though one of the oldest specimens of lyric poetry, all the musical flow, the striking alliteration and the exact correspondence of parallel members which characterize the best productions of Israel's bards.

“ Adah and Zillah ! hear my voice,  
 Ye wives of Lamech ! give ear to my speech ;  
 For I slay a man for wounding me,  
 Even a youth for inflicting a stripe.  
 Lo ! Cain is avenged seven-fold,  
 But Lamech seventy and seven-fold.”

At every step along the course of the history our ears are

greeted with poetic strains. Now it is a mere fragment we catch, like that quoted in Josh. x. 12, 13, from the Book of Jasher :

“Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon,  
And thou, moon, in the valley of Ajalon.  
And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,  
Till the nation was avenged on its enemies.”

Again it is a long, highly-finished and complete ode, like that crowning glory of the lyric poetry of early Israel, the almost unrivalled Song of Deborah (Jud. v.).

At one time we listen to the Blessing of the Dying Jacob on his Sons (Gen. xlix.), or of Moses, the man of God, on the Tribes (Deut. xxxiii.); at another we exult with the victors in some song of triumph, like that sung by Moses and Miriam when the rescued host stood safe on the shore of the Red Sea (Ex. xv.); at still another, we are moved by some tender, pathetic dirge, like that of David on the death of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i.) :

“Thy glory, O Israel, is slain upon thy heights.  
(CHORUS).—*How are the heroes fallen !*

Tell it not in Gath,  
Publish it not in the streets of Askelon ;  
Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice—  
Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.

Ye mountains of Gilboa, no dew nor rains  
Come upon you, and ye fields of offerings ;  
For there the shield of the hero is polluted,  
The shield of Saul not anointed with oil.

From the blood of the slain,  
From the fat of the heroes,  
The bow of Jonathan turned not back,  
And the sword of Saul returned not empty.

Saul and Jonathan, lovely and pleasant in their lives,  
And in their death they are not divided.  
Swifter than eagles,  
Stronger than lions.

Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul,  
 Who clothed you in purple with delight,  
 Who put ornaments of gold  
 Upon your apparel.

(CHORUS).—*How are the heroes fallen in the midst of battle !  
 O Jonathan, slain upon thy heights !*

I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan,  
 Very pleasant hast thou been unto me :  
 Thy love to me was wonderful,  
 Passing the love of women.

(CHORUS).—*How are the heroes fallen  
 And the weapons of war perished !*”

And so, too, the Prophetical Books are enriched by some of the noblest lyrics. What an incomparable taunt-song is that on the King of Babylon (Isa. xiv. 4–23) ! And where will you find an ode surpassing in sublimity the ode of Habakkuk (Hab. iii) ? Indeed, the prophets themselves are true poets, blending truth and beauty in sweetest harmony. Whenever they rise to the loftiest themes, their sentiment becomes highly poetic, their diction is elevated far above prose, and their utterance assumes a rhythmical form. Take, as a specimen, the first two verses of Isaiah :

“Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth,  
 For Jehovah hath spoken :  
 ‘I have nourished and brought up children,  
 And they have rebelled against me.

The ox knoweth his owner,  
 And the ass his master’s crib :  
 Israel doth not know,  
 My people doth not consider.’ ”

Picture to yourselves the scenes which these words introduce. It is a grand assize, at which Israel is the defendant, Jehovah the plaintiff and judge. We hear the accusation : “I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me.” What boundless astonishment finds utterance in these words ! Children, not dumb beasts ; children reared to

manhood and elevated to honor, yet rebelling against their Father, and such a Father, the God of heaven and earth, who made them in His image and bestowed on them such loving care! The prophet is dumfounded in the presence of such insensate ingratitude, such base guilt. He can express his deep abhorrence only by contrasting Israel with the irrational brutes. "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib. Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider." Do you wonder that He bursts forth in holy indignation: "O sinful nation! people laden with iniquity! seed of evil-doers! children that do corruptly! they have forsaken Jehovah, they have reviled the Holy One of Israel, they have gone away backward." Are you surprised that He summons the whole universe to witness the enormity of Israel's guilt? "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth." How many splendid images within the compass of these two verses! Mark the majestic apostrophe to heaven and earth, as if they were living persons capable of testifying against the prophet's people. And what a magnificent sweep of the imagination from heaven to earth—a sweep as broad as the universe. Add to this the beauty of the parallelism, effected now by the contrast of "heaven" and "earth," of ungrateful "Israel," and the irrational but still responsive "ox" and "ass;" now by different, but equivalent, terms, such as "hear" and "give ear," "owner" and "master," "Israel" and "my people," "know" and "consider;" and then tell me whether this is not poetry, and poetry of a very high order?

Seeing that poetry constitutes so large a part of the Old Testament, let us endeavor to characterize its distinctive features, that we may estimate its true worth. It is futile to attempt, as has so often been done, to institute a comparison between the poetry of the Hebrews and that of other non-Semitic peoples, like the Greeks and the Romans, the English and the Germans. They are too dissimilar to admit of being brought into analogy. Hebrew poetry has a glory of its own, and in its own order it needs fear no rival. Greek poetry, too, is matchless in its kind. But the glory of the Hebrew is one,



and the glory of the Greek is another. They may be contrasted; they can never, without absurdity, be compared. So that if we would form a correct estimate of the poetic element in the Old Testament, we must at once dismiss from our minds the canons of literary criticism derived from the study of classic and modern poetry. Measured by these, the poetry of the Bible has seemed to many—and not unjustly—as rude, almost barbarous and without art, and destitute of beauty. But when a different standard is applied, the standard of spiritual truth and life, then it bursts upon our vision as a new and glorious creation, incomparable in its simplicity and naturalness, its universal human interest and its divine heights and depths. Its very artlessness is an element of its perfection, whether we look to the form it assumes, the thought and sentiment it enshrines, or the pure spirit it everywhere breathes.

Turning aside for the time from the richly varied contents of Hebrew poetry, and fixing the attention, first of all, on what is distinctive of its form, no attentive eye can fail to observe that, like the Semitic mind which gave it birth, it is essentially and intensely subjective in its character. The Hebrew poet sings as no other does, at least to the same extent, out of the depths of his own heart. His inner experience in its manifold phases of faith and hope, of love and adoration, of joy and sorrow, of fear and courage, furnishes his noblest themes. The surrounding world, whether of nature or of man, has no interest for him, save as it touches his own life and mirrors the feelings of his own soul. His poetry may thus seem to flow in a narrow stream; but on that very account it is all the more enthusiastic and inspiring.

In this preponderant subjectivity we find a satisfactory explanation of the fact that, of the three possible species of poetry—the epic, the drama and the lyric—the Hebrews have only the lyric. When we remember that the true lyric, as seen in the poetry of India, Greece and Germany, rests on a mythological basis, such as is furnished by popular belief and popular legend, we might be tempted to think, indeed, that the absence of the

Hebrew epic is due to the unmythological and monotheistic nature of the religion of Israel. But when we notice that the Arabs, before the age of Islam, produced only the lyric—that not until they came into contact with the Persians did they acquire an interest in, and ability to write narrative poetry, and that of all the Semitic peoples in ancient times the Assyrians alone possessed the epic, and that not as a native creation, but as a loan from their non-Semitic predecessors in the valley of the Euphrates, \*—we feel constrained to account for this one-sided development of poetry, from which both the epic and the drama are excluded, by some general cause operative in the Semitic mind at large. And that cause, as I have already said, is the intense subjectivity of the Semite.

Both the epic and the drama demand that the individuality of the poet should vanish behind the scenes he describes, seeing through another's eyes, thinking through another's brain, and speaking through another's mouth. This is possible to the Aryan, with his self-forgetting interest in the external world; it is not possible to the Semite, who, like the child, views the world in the light of the feelings swaying him at the moment.

It has been claimed, indeed, that the Book of Job is an epic and the Canticles a drama. But, while the former has an underlying basis in history, to be gathered mainly from the prologue and the epilogue, the poem itself lacks an element essential to the epic—the portrayal of human deeds and destinies—and finds in the events that so deeply touch the life of Job only an occasion for discussing, from various points of view, the mysterious dealings of God with man. And as to the Canticles, while it is true that the poem has the shifting scenes, the *dramatis personæ*, the dialogues and the monologues, and even the chorus, that characterize the ancient drama, it is equally true that it is wanting in that action which the name "drama" implies. The most that can be said is that, while the Book of Job contains certain epic elements, and the Canti-

\*That is, if the Sumerian theory is true, though it must be confessed that Halevy, Delitzsch and others have shown it to be very doubtful.

cles displays some of the features of the drama, they are essentially lyrical, inasmuch as they are the subjective expression of poetic thought and emotion, and not an objective representation of external action and life.

The lyric, then, is the form natural to the Hebrew poet in the outgushings of his soul. Only the meaning of the term "lyric" must not be confined within too narrow limits. Strictly speaking, it denotes a poem suitable to be sung. Such is the character of the Lamentations and most of the Psalms. But the word is used also in a more general sense to comprehend any poem which gives immediate expression, in rhythmical movement and grand style, to the inner life and personal experience of the poet. In this broader meaning the lyric is didactic, moving in the realm of thought rather than of feeling, and intended to influence primarily the intellectual nature, and only through this, the emotional. Of such character are the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. But, though confined to one species—the lyric—and so, seemingly, hampered in the free expression of thought and sentiment, Hebrew poetry is yet as varied as the wondrous play of the emotions of the poet in his contemplation of God, nature and his own soul. It is subjective, and yet in a sense universal, for the Hebrew poet's heart is swayed by the grandest and profoundest movements of life in the universe.

Another characteristic is its simplicity of form. The Hebrew poet was no artist in the sense the Greek poet was, laboring at the expression of his thought, polishing and refining it, that he might delight the imagination of his hearers and awaken their admiration by a display of his skill. Israel's psalmists and prophets were too earnest for this. Their souls were burdened with a message to the world, and they were intent only on its delivery. They heeded little the letter, if they could but communicate the spirit. Their poetry was the poetry of sense, rather than of sound. It was not altogether wanting in art, but the art, unfettered by conventional rules, was the free, spontaneous expression of the soul.

How different, in this regard, is Greek and Latin poetry,

with its uniform and mechanical system of versification! Here everything is rigidly prescribed—the number of feet in a verse, the number of syllables in a foot, the quantity of the syllables and the order of their arrangement. And this holds good, too, of modern poetry, except that here the character of the foot is determined by the accent, rather than by the quantity of the syllables. Besides, most modern poetry is rendered still more mechanical in form than the classic by its employment of rhyme—of lines ending in similarly sounding words. Now all this is very beautiful to the ear, and produces the effect of a well-constructed melody in music. But what fetters it binds on the poet's soul! If he is to pour forth the thoughts and feelings of his heart, he must pour them into a rigidly fixed, unyielding mould. He is “cabined, cribbed, confined.” The sound, absolutely predetermined, controls the expression of the sense.

The Hebrew poet enjoys a remarkable freedom from all such cramping mechanical rules. His language is rich in the means of producing rhymes, yet he makes no systematic use of the principle so characteristic of modern poetry, even the Hebrew poetry of the modern Jews. Rhyme is occasionally found, but as it seldom extends beyond a couplet or a triplet, and never throughout a complete poem, it is, we may believe, generally unintentional. Not unfrequently assonance is employed, and with fine effect, and more rarely alliteration; but neither rhyme, assonance nor alliteration has become a law of Hebrew poetry.

There have been many attempts, from the time of Philo and Josephus to the present day, to find in Hebrew poetry a system of metres, such as we find in all Greek and Latin poetry. But if we retain the traditional punctuation and accentuation of the Hebrew text, we can discern no trace of a regular recurrence of similar feet disposed in various rhythms. The feature which, both to eye and ear, is most distinctive of the form of the Hebrew poetry is its parallelism of members, which Herder aptly compares to the dance with its rhythmic movements, and

to the choral song of the Greeks, with its strophe and antistrophe. Its inmost soul is an easily apprehended symmetry, a simplicity in equality. It displays a richly-varied rhythm, which, however, is not so much a rhythm of sound as of thought and feeling. The poetry of the Hebrews is sententious; it gives full utterance to a leading idea, most frequently in a couplet, though often, also, in a triplet, of which the first member states the theme, while the second—or, in the triplet, the second and third—echoes the theme, repeating, supplementing, contrasting, but always in different words, thus greatly heightening the similarity or the contrast.

An example or two will afford a clearer idea of the nature of this parallelism than the fullest and most accurate description. Take the doublet couplet Ps. xxi. 1, 2:

“Jehovah, in Thy strength the king doth rejoice,  
And in Thy salvation how greatly doth he exult.  
The desire of his heart Thou hast granted unto him,  
And the request of his lips Thou hast not denied.”

You will observe that each couplet expresses a single thought repeated in the two lines, but in varied language, and in such a way that the second line heightens the thought, whose keynote is sounded in the first. Moreover, the lines of each couplet exactly correspond in construction and form of expression. “Jehovah, in Thy strength the king doth rejoice,” conveys the same idea as, “in Thy salvation how greatly doth he exult,” only that here it is intensified and altered in expression. The two members run strictly parallel, “in Thy strength” corresponding to “in Thy salvation,” and “the king doth rejoice” to “how greatly doth he exult.” So, too, in the second couplet, the first line “The desire of his heart Thou hast granted unto him” affirms positively what the second line, “the request of his lips Thou has not denied,” asserts negatively. And mark how they balance each other, term set over against term, “the desire” and “the request,” “of his heart” and “of his lips,” “Thou hast granted” and “Thou hast not denied.”

Again, take an example of a triplet :

“Blessed is the man who walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly,  
Nor standeth in the way of sinners,  
Nor sitteth in the assembly of mockers.”—(Ps. 1: 1).

The poet here describes the righteous man negatively, showing what he does not do. No reader can fail to notice the beauty of the climax. It is dangerous to walk in the counsel of the ungodly, but more dangerous to stand in the way of sinners, and still more dangerous to sit in the assembly of mockers. Note, too, the threefold correspondence and the variety of the terms employed: “walk,” “stand,” “sit;” “counsel,” “way,” “assembly;” “ungodly,” “sinners,” “scorners.”

Hebrew poetry, in virtue of this simplicity and elasticity, admits of being rendered into any language without appreciable loss of either form or substance. A translation of the *Iliad* of Homer or the *Odes* of Horace could not be distinguished from simple prose, except by an occasional hyperbolical expression, or by some striking ornamental epithet. Their charm vanishes, if they are not fully reproduced in a skillfully elaborated metrical form, which always involves an alteration, to a greater or less extent, of the original thought. Hebrew poetry, on the other hand, owes little to the rhythm of sound, but everything to the pulsation of thought and feeling. Its beauty and sublimity, its tenderness and pathos can be veiled by no translation, however prosaic, if only such translation be faithful and true. And this can be said of no other poetry the world has ever produced.

There is another characteristic of form to which I must briefly refer. All poetry has its peculiar diction, differing in elegance and elevation from that of common, every-day prose. The diction of Hebrew poetry is sensuous and pictorial in a much higher degree than that of our western, even our romantic, poetry.

Something of this is due to the nature of the Hebrew language, which is the language of poetry, rather than that of abstract thought and philosophical speculation. Its word-roots

are in large part onomato-poetic, or at least their original sense-conception is but slightly veiled. Its noun and adjective spring directly from the verb, whose life and movement they retain. The language has developed comparatively few abstracts; it presents everything in concrete form. There is a wealth of synonyms, each of which denotes an object or event under a distinct aspect. It often gathers up such a fulness of meaning within the compass of a single word that it can be rendered in English only by a phrase of three, four, or even more words. Especially do its so-called tenses communicate life to a painted scene. Unlike the tenses of the Aryan languages, they do not define the date of an action, but rather express its mode, as completed or unfinished. The poet, accordingly, is ever shifting his point of view, now standing before the action, and seeing it in its incipency or its orderly progress, now standing behind it, and contemplating it as a completed whole. All is life, activity, motion, which it is impossible to reproduce in any other language.

But here we are concerned with Hebrew poetry only so far as it can be translated into English without marring the beauty of its form or diminishing from the grandeur of its ideas. Oriental poetry in general, and Hebrew poetry in particular, is proverbially distinguished for its great wealth of imagery. Palestine, small as it is in extent, presented in the days of its glory a larger variety of geographical features, physical aspects, climatic changes, natural productions and social conditions, than could be seen elsewhere in an area ten times as great. No poet was ever so favorably situated in this respect as the Hebrew poet. Around, above, beneath lay scattered the materials with which he wrought, and, putting heaven and earth under contribution to his art, he heaped image on image, often in seemingly reckless extravagance, yet always with the effect of exquisite beauty. The poets of Greece and Rome, reared amid the settled life of cities and devoted to the cultivation of literature and art, lived less near to the beating heart of nature than the Hebrew poet, who views all her varied aspects as if



they mirrored the thoughts of his mind and the emotions of his soul. His similes are unsurpassed in any literature for aptness and beauty; as when he compares the sun to a bridegroom coming out of his chamber and rejoicing like a hero to run a race; or the godly man to a tree planted by rivulets of water, that brings forth his fruit in his season, and whose leaf does not wither. His metaphors especially are striking and bold. Heaven is God's throne, and earth His footstool; the stars are His military host, fighting against Sisera; the storm-cloud is His chariot, the thunder His voice, the lightnings His swift, piercing arrows. Where can you match Job's figure, "the eyelashes of the dawn," as imaging the first rays of the rising day, just opening, as it were, its eyes on the world? Everywhere the Hebrew poet sets the image for the object he would paint. He does not present to us a dead universe, in which there is neither mind nor spirit, where brute force and blind necessity alone rule. His imagination pictures the world as full of life and soul. He endues inanimate objects with thought, emotion and speech. He gives to abstract ideas and qualities concrete form. To his imagination the world thrills with conscious life and activity; nothing is dead or stagnant.

All that I have thus far said will receive ample illustration in the selections I shall make when considering, as I now proceed to do, the subject-matter of Hebrew poetry.

Hebrew poetry, as it has been transmitted to us in the Old Testament, is broadly distinguished from the poetry of other nations by the fact that it is almost exclusively of a religious character. Among the poetical books, the Song of Solomon forms the sole exception. Only the most arbitrary allegorical interpretation can impress on it a religious meaning. Yet it holds a worthy place in the Sacred Canon; for, in a series of dialogues and monologues, it portrays the ideal of pure human love as kindled by God in the heart of young man and maiden. It is a love-song indeed; but how different in sentiment and tone from the amatory strains of an Ovid or Catullus! Where will you find in them—where in all heathen literature—a truer,

chaster description of love than in the prayer of Shulamith to her lover (viii. 6. 7):

“Set me as a signet upon thy heart,  
 As a signet upon thine arm.  
 For strong as death is love,  
 Hard as Sheol is jealousy :  
 Its flashes are flashes of fire—  
 A flame kindled by Jehovah.  
 Many waters cannot quench love,  
 Neither can rivers wash it away.  
 If a man were to give all the wealth of his house for love,  
 He would be utterly contemned.”

Setting aside the Canticles, and a few popular and national songs in which the religious spirit is hardly felt, we may rightly say that Hebrew poetry has but one theme, than which, however, there can be none grander, loftier or more inspiring. It is the interpreter at once of God, as He manifests Himself in the works of nature and the events of history, and of the human heart as it responds to Him in penitence, gratitude and praise. It places before us the great drama of Heaven and Earth in their reciprocal action: God speaking in word and deed, man replying out of the depths of his soul. Compared with this, how trifling are the themes of the best poetry of Greece and Rome—the raptures of earthly love, the pleasures of wine and the feast, or even the prowess and achievements of mighty national heroes! The siege of Troy and the fortunes of the house of Œdipus dwindle into utter insignificance in the presence of this sublime manifestation of the living God in the scenes of creation and the destinies of nations and men. How local and transient is the interest awakened by all other poetry, except so far as it echoes the grand truths which Israel gave as a heritage to the world! But Hebrew poetry has a sweep as broad as the universe in which God dwells, and will never cease to inspire and delight as long as the human heart can make response to God. Its great, almost its sole thought is God, the living God. In His light it views all things and measures the significance of all events. “With Thee is the fountain of

life; in Thy light shall I see light." He is the Supreme Good:

"I say to Jehovah, Thou art my Lord;  
I have nought that is good beside Thee."—(Ps. xvi. 2.)  
"Like the hind when she pants  
For the brooks that have water,  
Is my soul, O God, in its panting for Thee.  
My soul thirsteth for God, for the God that has life;  
O when may I come and appear before God?" (xlii. 1, 2).\*

This thought of God, in its manifold aspects, is not set forth in abstract terms, but is painted in vivid colors by that master artist, the imagination, and can only be apprehended by a sympathetic imagination, not by the cold, logical understanding. When the poet would make us realize the unsearchableness of God, he says:

"Eloah's hidden depths canst thou find out,  
Or Shaddai's utmost limit canst thou reach?  
Higher than Heaven's height! what canst thou do?  
Deeper than Sheol's depths! what canst thou know?  
Its measurement is longer than the earth,  
And broader than the sea."—(Job xi. 7-9.)

This is not the language of metaphysics, but of the imagination. It places before the mind a truer and more glorious picture than ever philosopher sketched.

And so when the poet describes the attributes of God, we move not among shadowy abstractions, but rather among living realities. From among the many pictures of God's power take this from Job (ix. 5-12):

"'Tis He that moves the mountains, and they know it not;  
Who overturneth them in His fierce wrath;  
Who makes the earth to tremble from its place,  
Its strong foundations rock;  
'Tis He who bids the sun, and it withholds its rays;  
Who sealeth up the stars;  
Who bent the heavens all alone,  
And walks upon the mountain waves;

\* De Witt's Metrical Version, from which the selections from the Psalms have been taken.

Who made the Bear, Orion and the Pleiades,  
The hidden constellations of the South ;  
Who doeth mighty works—unsearchable,—  
And wonders infinite.

Lo! He goes by me, but I see Him not ;  
Sweeps past, but I perceive Him not ;  
See! He assails! then who shall turn him back ?  
Or who shall say to Him, What doest Thou ?” \*

And again, have the Divine Omniscience and all-pervading Presence ever been more loftily conceived or more magnificently described than in Ps. cxxxix. 1-12?

“O Lord, Thou hast searched me and known me.  
Thou knowest my down-sitting and mine up-rising,  
Thou understandest my thought afar off,  
Thou searchest out my path and my lying down,  
And art acquainted with all my ways ;  
For there is not a word in my tongue  
But lo! Lord, Thou knowest it altogether.  
Thou hast beset me behind and before,  
And laid Thine hand upon me ;  
Such knowledge is too wonderful for me ;  
It is high—I cannot attain unto it.

Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit ?  
Or whither shall I flee from Thy presence ?  
If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there ;  
If I make my bed in Sheol, behold, Thou art there.  
If I take the wings of the morning,  
And dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea,  
Even there shall Thy hand lead me,  
And Thy right hand shall uphold me.  
If I say, Surely the darkness shall overwhelm me,  
And the light about me shall be night ;  
Even the darkness hideth not from Thee,  
But the night shineth as the day :  
The darkness and the light are both alike to Thee.”

The mind of the Hebrew poet was deeply impressed by all the changing aspects of the world. He lived close to nature, not as the Greek did, reveling in the delights of mere physical

\*Tayler Lewis' Metrical Version, in which the selections from Job are given.

existence and in the enjoyment of æsthetic emotions; nor as the modern scientist does, scanning all external objects, comparing and classifying them that he may trace out the general laws by which the world is governed; but because he saw in all surrounding phenomena a manifestation of the presence of this God.

“The heavens are telling the glory of God,  
The firmament showeth the work of His hands.  
Day to day doth pour out speech,  
Night to night doth utter knowledge.”—(Ps. xix. 1, 2.)

Profoundly as he was moved by the powers of nature, he did not feel himself helpless in their grasp. Behind them all, however appalling, his faith discerned the Supreme power, the personal, spiritual, omnipotent God, who holds all the threads of the universe in His hands. The whole course of nature is God's ordinance, and all its processes—the terrific as well as the gentle—are but the freely-chosen modes of His self-manifestation. To Homer and Virgil the world does not mirror the attributes, nor obey the will, of the Olympian gods. At least their empire is divided, and their dominion subject to the fitful impulses of their wayward and often immoral characters. But to the Hebrew poet the world, in all its compass, is but an instrument freely responsive to the merely whispered will of God. It is to this we owe the sublimity of thought, the grandeur of expression and the deep sympathy with nature in all her aspects, that characterize his poetic creations.

Because the Hebrew poet discerns behind the visible scenes of the universe an invisible, yet felt presence, the living Agent active in all the mechanical processes of nature, he does not fear to bring God into closest connection with external phenomena, nor to clothe inanimate objects with the attributes of personality. It is on this account that the nature-poetry of the Old Testament is unsurpassed. Listen, for example, to the Psalmist's magnificent description of a thunder-storm (Ps. xxix. 3–9):

“On the waters the voice of Jehovah!  
 It is God in His glory that thunders;  
 Jehovah is on the great waters;  
 The voice of Jehovah with power!  
 The voice of Jehovah in grandeur!

The voice of Jehovah is rending the cedars,  
 The cedars of Lebanon Jehovah is rending;  
 And He makes them to spring like a calf,  
 Lebanon and Sirion like young of the deer.  
 The voice of Jehovah hews out flashes of fire;  
 The voice of Jehovah convulses the desert;  
 Jehovah convulses the desert of Kadesh.  
 The voice of Jehovah brings hinds to their travail,  
 And the forest strips bare,  
 While all in his palace cry, *Glory.*”

First of all, you hear the low muttering of the thunder far off to the north; then the storm, sweeping southward and gathering strength with its advance, bursts over Lebanon in wildest fury, breaking her cedars as if they were frail reeds, and making the mountains tremble to their rocky base,—the lightning, meanwhile, sending forth its terrific flashes, until, spending its remaining strength on the wilderness of Kadesh, whose trees it strips of their foliage, and whose hinds it brings to the birth-throes, its voice is at last hushed, and we hear instead the angelic choir in Jehovah’s palace singing, “*Glory.*” And this shows that the interest of the poet is not in the storm, as such, a mere natural phenomenon. It is nothing to him, save as a splendid manifestation of God’s glory. Therefore, before he begins his description, he lifts his eyes upward, and calls on the angels surrounding God’s throne, to give to Him the glory due His name:

“Give Jehovah, ye sons of the mighty,  
 Give glory and strength to Jehovah;  
 Give Jehovah the glory of His name;  
 O worship Jehovah in holy attire.”

Hebrew poetry is especially grand when it describes Jehovah as going forth in His wrath for the salvation of His people.

Then we have the sublimest imagery, the boldest personifications, and the most startling anthropomorphisms. His voice roars out of His palace ; He bends the heavens and comes down, thick darkness under His feet ; a smoke mounts up from His nostrils, and a fire consumes from His mouth ; He rides on a cherub, swept along by the wings of the wind ; the darkness a screen round about Him, and out of the darkness hailstones and flashes of fire ; He thunders from heaven, shoots forth His arrows and scatters His enemies ; and, at His threatening, at the blast of the breath of His nostrils, even the waters flee away and lay bare the bed of the sea. Of the many theophanies described in the poetry of the Old Testament, listen to the one so vividly painted in the Song of Habakkuk (Hab. iii):

“ God came from Teman,  
And the Holy One from Mount Paran.  
His glory covered the heavens,  
And the earth was full of His praise.  
And His brightness was as the light ;  
He had rays coming forth from His hand ;  
And there was the hiding of His power.  
Before Him went the pestilence,  
And fiery bolts went forth at His feet.  
He stood and measured the earth ;  
He beheld, and drove asunder the nations ;  
And the eternal mountains were scattered,  
The everlasting hills did bow ;  
His goings were as of old.  
I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction,  
The curtains of the land of Midian did tremble.  
Was Jehovah displeased against the rivers ?  
Was Thine anger against the rivers,  
Or Thy wrath against the sea,  
That Thou didst ride upon Thine horses,  
Upon Thy chariots of salvation ?  
Thy bow was made quite bare ;  
The oaths to the tribes were a sure word.  
Thou didst cleave the earth with rivers ;  
The mountains saw Thee, and were afraid ;  
The tempest of waters passed by :  
The deep uttered His voice,  
And lifted up his hands on high.



The sun and moon stood still in their habitations ;  
 At the light of Thine arrows as they went,  
 At the shining of Thy glittering spear.  
 Thou didst march through the land in indignation,  
 Thou didst thresh the nations in anger.  
 Thou wentest forth for the salvation of Thy people,  
 For the salvation of Thine anointed ;  
 Thou woundest the head out the house of the wicked,  
 Laying bare the foundation even unto the neck.  
 Thou didst pierce with his own staves the head of his warriors :  
 They came as a whirlwind to scatter me ;  
 Their rejoicing was as to devour the poor secretly.  
 Thou didst tread the sea with Thine horses,  
 The heap of mighty waters."

There is a passage in the Book of Job transcendently sublime, in which God discloses a momentous truth through a spirit of the night. It is a weird scene at the solemn hour of midnight. The world is wrapt in deep unbroken slumber. Only Eliphaz tosses sleepless on his couch, unable to shut out the disturbing visions conjured up by perplexing anxious thoughts. Then suddenly a terrible fear seizes him and all his bones shake. A living, breathing Presence flits before him, making his hair stand on end. To his horror, it pauses before his eyes, a vague, indistinct, shadowy shape. A moment of awful silence follows, and then a low, murmuring voice out of the darkness, asks : " Is mortal man more just than God ? Is boasting man more pure than He who made him ? " The passage runs thus :

" To me, at times, there steals a warning word ;  
 Mine ear its whisper seems to catch.  
 In troubled thoughts from spectres of the night,  
 When falls on men the vision—seeing trance,—  
 And fear has come, and trembling dread,  
 And made my every bone to thrill with awe,—  
 'Tis then before me stirs a breathing form,  
 O'er all my flesh it makes the hair rise up.  
 It stands ; no face distinct can I discern ;  
 An outline is before mine eyes ;  
 Deep silence ! then a voice I hear :  
 ' Is mortal man more just than God ?  
 Is boasting man more pure than He who made him ' " (iv. 12-17)?

That is word painting of the highest order, and it would go hard to match it anywhere in the literature of the world.

As the Hebrew poet has, in his conception of God, mounted up to what is highest and truest and grandest in the realm of thought, so has he also, in the outpouring of his emotion, revealed what is deepest and purest and most ennobling in human feeling. He has sounded the inmost depths of the heart in its response to God's infinite majesty and goodness, holiness and righteousness, long-suffering and compassion. The Psalter, especially, witnesses to the most intimate communings with God. It is throughout the voice of man to God, the cry of the child to its Father, now thrilling with gladness, now wailing out its griefs. There is hardly an experience in the religious life to which it has not given such a true and full form of expression, that it has served ever since as the model for prayer and the vehicle for praise. It is this welling up in it of the deepest fountains of the human soul in its intercourse with God that gives to the Psalms their marvelous universality and their unrivaled attractiveness. In spite of their local, temporal and national coloring, they mount up into spiritual regions where the distinctions of sex and race, of clime and age, are lost sight of in the deeper unity of religious needs, aspirations and hopes. The utterances of a human heart fully conscious of its spiritual relations, they have a reality and truth capable of touching every other human heart in its higher and highest life, and teach it to pour forth its adoration and praise, its feeling of sin and its sense of pardon, its victories and its defeats, its fearlessness before man and its calm repose in God. Even our blessed Lord, in the hour of His supreme agony, could find no better expression of His feelings than in the Psalmist's words: "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?"

The hymns of adoration, in which Hebrew poetry is so rich, are unexcelled among men. Nor is this so surprising as at first blush it might seem. They are notes of praise to Israel's God. How much that meant to the chosen people of old, we fail to

comprehend. It is easy for us to say, God reigns omnipotent in the heavens and makes the forces of nature and history subservient to His sovereign will. Ethical monotheism has become wrought into the very texture of our thoughts. It seems to us almost incredible, hardly conceivable, that men should ever have believed otherwise than that God is an infinite, personal Spirit, omnipresent, omnipotent, and invested with the higher moral attributes of justice and holiness, mercy and love. But at the time when the Hebrew bards sang, this conception was known to a very small territory, and, from a worldly point of view, to a very insignificant people. It was the great prophets and psalmists of Israel who made belief in the one, only, personal, spiritual God, the common possession of their race, and through their race, of the civilized world. And so, when these noble singers turn their gaze away from the vain idols of the nations to their own God, the God of Israel, "that sitteth on the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers; that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them as a tent to dwell in;" "the everlasting God, Jehovah, the Creator of the ends of the earth," who "fainteth not, neither is weary," and who reneweth the strength of them that wait on Him, so that "they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary; they shall walk and not faint," is it surprising that in the presence of this God, who chose Israel as His peculiar people, they should burst out in strains of adoration and praise, such as men had never heard before, and have never been surpassed since?

"O come, let us sing to Jehovah,  
Let us shout to the rock of salvation,  
Let us come with thanksgiving before Him,  
With psalms let us shout His praise.  
For Jehovah is God very great,  
Above all the gods the Great King;  
In whose hand are the depths of the earth,  
And the wealth of the mountains is His;  
The sea, too, is His, for He made it,  
And His hands have formed the dry land.  
O come, bowing down let us worship,

Let us kneel to Jehovah, our Maker ;  
For He is our God,  
And we are the people of His care,  
The flock of His hand ;  
O that to-day ye would hearken to His voice."

—(Ps. xcv. 1-7.)

Such is their high-wrought enthusiasm for Jehovah, that they would proclaim His name to all the world.

" Oh, sing a new song to Jehovah ;  
Yea, sing, all the earth, to Jehovah ;  
Raise your song to Jehovah, and bless ye His name ;  
Proclaim every day His glad news of salvation ;  
Declare in the nations His glory ;  
Let the peoples all know of His wonders.

For Jehovah is great, and all worthy of praise,  
And above all gods to be feared,  
For the gods of the nations are all things of nought,  
But the heavens were made by Jehovah,  
In His presence are grandeur and glory ;  
In His holy place splendor and strength."—(Ps. xcvi. 1-6.)

They invoke all heaven and earth to praise His holy name.

" Praise ye, Jehovah !  
From the heavens give praise to Jehovah ;  
Give Him praise in the heights ;  
Give Him praise, all His angels ;  
Give Him praise, all his hosts ;  
Give Him praise, sun and moon,  
And let all the bright stars give Him praise ;  
Praise Him, O heaven of heavens,  
And ye waters that are higher than the heavens."

—(Ps. cxlviii. 1-4.)

When the Psalmist considers the eternity of God, he is filled with a mournful sense of the brevity and transitoriness of life, and vividly portrays his painful, though not hopeless mood, in a lyric of which it is not too much to say, with Isaac Taylor, that it is " perhaps the most sublime of human compositions ; the deepest in feeling, the loftiest in theological conception, the most magnificent in its imagery."

“ Lord, Thou art a home for us in all generations :  
 Ere the hills were brought forth,  
 Or yet Thou hadst formed the earth and the world,  
 Through the ages everlasting Thou art God.

To the dust Thou restorest the mortal ;  
 Thou sayest, “ Return, ye children of men.”  
 For a thousand years in Thine eyes  
 Are like yesterday’s passing,  
 Or a watch in the night.

Thou sweepest them off as a flood, and they sleep ;  
 They are like grass that springs up in the morning,  
 In the morning springs up, and it blossoms,  
 At eve is cut down, and it withers ;  
 For Thine anger consumes us,  
 By Thy wrath we are dismayed ;  
 Our transgressions Thou settest before Thee,  
 In the light of Thy presence the deeds we conceal.

For all our days turn away in Thy wrath,  
 Our years we pass off like a sigh.  
 Threescore and ten are the years of our life,  
 Or fourscore if strength should avail ;  
 Yet their proudest are toilsome and vain :  
 For they are soon cut off, and we fly.  
 But who has yet learned the power of Thine anger,  
 And Thy wrath so measured by the reverence due Thee ?  
 So teach us to number our days,  
 That our heart may attain unto wisdom.”—(Ps. xc. 1–12.)

When he views himself in the light of God’s spotless holiness, he pours forth a prayer characterized by such a profound conviction of sin, such a full and unfeigned confession, such a true and sincere penitence, such a deep-felt desire for pardon and such humble trust in God’s forgiving love, as can be seen nowhere among the literary productions of men, to the same extent and in the same purity as in the fifty-first Psalm.

“ Show me pity, O God, in Thy great loving kindness,  
 As Thy mercies abound, my transgressions blot out ;  
 From my guilt wash me thoroughly,  
 From my sin make me clean.

For I, oh I know my transgressions,  
And alway my sin is before me;  
Against Thee, Thee alone have I sinned,  
And this evil have done in Thy sight;  
That Thy charge may prove just,  
And Thy judgment be faultless.

Lo, in guilt was I born,  
And in sin did my mother conceive me;  
Lo, Thy pleasure is truth deep within;  
In the part that is hid give me knowledge of wisdom,  
With hyssop branch cleanse me, I then shall be pure;  
If Thou wash me, I thus shall be whiter than snow.

Joy and gladness again let me have,  
That the bones Thou hast crushed may rejoice;  
Hide Thy face from my sins,  
And all my guiltiness blot from Thy book.

Create for me, Lord, a pure heart,  
Yea, renew a right spirit within me;  
And cast me not off from Thy presence;  
Thy Spirit of holiness, take Thou not from me,  
My joy in Thy power of salvation restore,  
Let a willing spirit uphold me;  
Then will I teach transgressors Thy way,  
And the sinner to Thee shall return.

Deliver me from bloodshed,  
O God, my God of salvation;  
Let my tongue of Thy righteousness sing;  
Lord, open my lips,  
And my mouth shall publish Thy praise,  
For sacrifice slain is not Thy delight,  
Or this would I bring Thee;  
Burnt offerings can give Thee no joy;  
A broken spirit is sacrifice pleasing to God;  
A heart broken and contrite,  
O God, Thou wilt not despise."—(Ps. li. 1-17.)

And then when the burden of guilt has been lifted from his soul, what a note of exultant gladness he sounds forth in the thirty-second Psalm:

"How happy is he  
Whose transgression is pardoned,  
Whose sin is forgiven;

How happy the man  
 Unto whom Jehovah imputeth no guilt,  
 In whose soul no deceit can be found.

While I spake not,  
 My bones were worn out  
 By my outcries all the day long;  
 For Thy hand day and night lay heavy upon me,  
 My moisture was turned into mid-summer drought.

Then to Thee I acknowledged my sin,  
 I concealed not my guilt;  
 I said, 'I confess my ill deeds to Jehovah,'  
 And Thou didst lift off the guilt of my sin.

Be glad in Jehovah, rejoice, O ye righteous,  
 And joyfully shout, ye upright in heart."—(Ps. xxxii. 1-5, 9.)

Or if you ask for an expression of firm, unfaltering trust in God, listen to the ringing words of the forty-sixth Psalm:

"We have God on our side, a refuge and a fortress,  
 A help in distress to be found without fail;  
 Therefore we fear not when the earth is all changed,  
 And the mountains are shaken in the heart of the sea;  
 Let its waters roar and boil up,  
 Let the mountains quake with their swelling."

—(Ps. xli. 1-3.)

Hebrew poetry, and especially the Psalter, while it is truly divine, is yet intensely human, and embodies those sentiments and emotions that spring from men's unchanging relations to God. It is poetry which all men, of whatever race or clime, can read with sympathetic interest. Here all feel something akin to what is most real in their own lives. The poet's dangers and conflicts, his temptations and struggles, his painful sense of weariness and longing for divine assistance are common to human life. They are old, yet ever new, and will never cease to find an echo in other hearts as long as human life is darkened by the shadow of sin and sorrow, bereavement and death. Other poetry is of abiding value only as far as it is pervaded by the truth and reality of life which Israel's inspired singers first disclosed to the world. If it touches man in his highest spirit-

ual relations, at those vital points which are of universal permanent interest, it will suffer no old age. Otherwise it may charm for awhile, as in some festive moment; but when the stern realities of life weigh upon the soul—sickness and suffering, sin and death—even the most beautiful odes of Horace and Anacreon seem but a hollow mockery, and we turn from them for comfort to such a Psalm as the twenty-third:

“Jehovah is my Shepherd,  
I suffer no want;  
In pastures of verdure He makes me lie down,  
By the rest-giving waters He leads me;  
He refreshes my soul  
And along the right paths  
For His Name's sake He guides me.

Yea, e'en when I walk in the valley of the shadow of death,  
No ill do I fear, for Thou art beside me,  
Thy sceptre and staff are my comfort.  
A table Thou preparest before me,  
In front of my foes;  
My head Thou anointest with oil,  
And alway my cup is o'erflowing,  
Then only shall follow me goodness and love  
All the days of my life,  
And for days long extended,  
I shall dwell in the house of Jehovah.”—(Ps. xxiii.)



## II.

### THE GRACIOUS TRUTH OF CHRIST.

BY PROF. WILLIAM H. RYDER, D.D.

"The law was given by Moses; grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."—  
John i. 17.

It is very trite to say that we live in an age of transition. It has become so, not simply because it has been often said during the last twenty years, but because it, or something like it, has been repeatedly said or thought during the past eighteen hundred years.

Christianity entered the world at a time when men's conceptions of truth and duty were passing through great changes. It was planted among people—Jews, Greeks, Romans,—whose political, social and religious ideas were in an intense flux. many of whom were "spending their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing," and Christianity, instead of calming at once this spirit of inquiry and unrest, intensified it; it began to "turn the world upside down." It is not at all surprising that serious, conservative men, the rulers of the Jewish Church and of the Roman State, were alarmed, and felt that the peace of society, the maintenance of good government and the preservation of religious faith demanded the suppression of this new movement at any cost. And Christianity has made its progress, in very large measure, under similar conditions, and in the same spirit and method. We like to think of it as winning the world simply by quiet and gentle influences, by convincing and sweetly transforming men—building up its kingdom in the earth, as the light and warmth of the sun build up a tree. This might be if Christianity had entered

a world where all men were innocent and wise, as ready to discern and respond to gracious influences as are the elements of the earth, and as quick to gather into organic life about some new germ. But Christianity, whenever it attempts to make an advance, must meet ignorance, prejudice, a timid and obstinate conservatism. Its progress must, therefore, be attended with turnings and overturnings. It must be especially alert in those times when men's views are changing, and if it will cure the restlessness of human hearts, it must first deepen that restlessness.

Every student of the New Testament and of the times of Christ and His apostles must be impressed with striking resemblances between that period and the period in which we live. That age, like this, was an age of commerce and travel. Then, as now, the nations which were shaping the life of the world, were open-minded, progressive nations. As we have already noted, there was then, as now, a loss of faith in older conceptions of truth, and a growing impatience with them, attended, at the same time, with an increasing desire for truth and reality. The task to which Jesus set His hand, and which He committed to His disciples, was much like that which rests upon pious and intelligent men of this generation—to assist, with firmness and courage, in this breaking up of older systems, and at the same time to hold firmly to all the truth which had been revealed to men in the past, and to reconstruct and revitalize it for the present and for future generations.

Our text brings before us, in certain aspects, this two-fold duty. "The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." The older revelation, as compared with the newer, was human, and therefore transient—the newer was more spiritual and more divine, and therefore contained, in larger measure, those elements which must be permanent. To avoid misapprehension I must delay a moment to define myself more carefully. I do not mean to intimate that any real revelation from God contains defective and untrue elements, which therefore must pass away with a

better knowledge of truth. So far as God really spoke to the inspired men of the older dispensation, He uttered the eternal truth; but this truth could be received by imperfect men only in imperfect forms. All life which comes from God is *perfect* life; the defects and deformities of nature are due simply to the limitations which are imposed upon life, the incapacity of nature to receive it in its perfection. So the defective and transient elements connected with the earlier revelations of God are not really parts of those revelations,—they mark simply the limit in the capacity to receive divine truth. How clearly Jesus recognizes this principle. He came, not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfill—to make more clear, comprehensive and commanding the old revelation. Moses, because of the hardness of men's hearts, permitted certain limits in the application of the law of love and constancy, but it was not so at the beginning. God revealed His eternal purpose in the creation,—and progress is only the return to the divine ideal thus revealed. And certainly, when we speak of the progress of Christianity, we do not mean that it has progressed away from the revelation which was made in Christ, but, rather, that that revelation made to men but imperfectly prepared to comprehend it, has so wrought in human thought and life that it has prepared men to understand it more perfectly, and that all Christian progress is progress towards Christ and not away from Him or beyond Him.

But let us consider more at length these two sides, or elements, of a vital and growing Christianity.

I. Such a Christianity must be constantly purifying itself of those foreign elements, of those imperfections and limitations with which it inevitably combines, when it is accepted, and practiced, and promulgated, by imperfect men. Consider the conditions under which Christianity first became a conscious force in the world. Three races had been prepared by the providence of God, to receive the germ of this new faith and life; the Jew, with his religious zeal and earnestness; the Greek, with his intellectual cultivation and his philosophy; the Roman, with

his passion for political and social order ; and these different conceptions had crossed and interwoven. Here was rare preparation, to be sure, for the reception and nourishment of the new life, but I need not delay to prove that there was much that was crude and erroneous, and that Christianity absorbed from this soil in which it grew, not only the pure, but, to some large degree, the impure elements. The proportion of some of these elements was, also, much increased by its early transplantation to a foreign soil. It is hard to see just what Christianity would have become if it had struck its roots firmly into Judaism and remained there long enough to gain fixity of form and firmness of fiber. It probably would have been less fitted to its mission. Its first, and its wonderful success was, doubtless, in large measure, due to its immaturity and plasticity. And yet we can see that, from this very fact, it was moulded into forms which were not native to it, and that the very wealth of vitality which it possessed, compelled it to lay hold of and to appropriate elements which were quite foreign to the simplicity of Christ. It absorbed a foreign philosophy of religion ; it appropriated foreign ecclesiastical ideas ; its ethics felt the influence of Roman social life ; its idea of God was a revived Platonism. Its very success wrought its transformation. And to say all this is not to deny the good there was in this transformation. It is not only inevitable that that which conquers men should feel its own life modified by the conquered, but it is a right and blessed dispensation. Perhaps this early influence of alien life and faith upon Christianity would have been only good if it had not been so persistent ; but, since those early days, Christianity has had no other opportunity to win to itself a highly cultivated people. The great mass of its converts have been either those who have been trained from childhood under Christian institutions, or uncultivated savages. Christianity has therefore carried, in all its progress, the ideas which it absorbed during the first three centuries of its life. These have been unconsciously modified ; sometimes quite materially revised, but they have never been put to that search-

ing test which would be involved in the successful proclamation of the Gospel to a people who had been trained in another philosophy, and another conception of life. Perhaps we shall see this test applied in the Christianizing of Japan. We are witnessing something which has points of resemblance to it in the more or less conscious effort of Christianity to shape itself to new conceptions of nature, of history, and of society. If Christianity is going to continue the noble warfare of the past, it cannot carry all its heavy armor or cumbersome baggage. If it is going to meet the skepticism which, it must be admitted, the investigations of the age are producing in many minds, and answer the earnest questions which are being put to it, it must learn to be simple, clear, practical. Religion has, of necessity, its mysteries—it combines truth and conduct, theory and practice, but so does everything else which is of real significance to men. There is a sense, too, in which dogma goes before conduct, and inspires and directs it. Truth must always control action. When I say that the age demands a simple and practical Christianity, I do not mean that it shall be without thought and reflection, but only that those elements of Christian dogma which have ceased to be real, shall be cheerfully sacrificed, that its mysteries shall not be formulated as fixed and unchangeable truths, which men must accept in definite forms before they can share full fellowship in Christian privilege and labor, and that all men shall be invited to look at truth calmly, with open mind, and to accept it only as it justifies itself to the intelligence and wins the heart. But is it not plain that the cultivation of this habit will involve some work of destruction? that the re-statement of Christian truth, with the constant testing question—not, what is old, and therefore sacred, but, what is true? not what has helped men of other ages, but what will help men of our age?—will involve a creed of very different proportions from any which has been framed in the past? Now, this work of exposure and destruction is often an ungracious task, painful to him who prosecutes it, and to those with whom and for whom he would labor. We often shirk it, or leave it to

born iconoclasts or rude fanatics. But is that right? Is it not the work which needs, more than almost any other, a calm, judicial mind and a gentle heart? If we need a surgeon we desire that he should be of this temper of mind and heart. If some news must be communicated, which at first will pain and shock, we seek some calm and kindly man to discharge the painful duty. The calmest, gentlest man the world has ever seen was the most destructive. He put his finger on the sacred tradition of the elders, and it withered under His touch. He brought His new view of truth and life into contact with old and stable forms of civilization, and they fell in ruins. He came not to send peace, but a sword. And the true follower of Christ must follow Him in this respect. It is a part of his mission to turn the world upside down, because, to so large a degree, the wrong side of it is still uppermost. Indeed, the world is like a farmer's field: it must be frequently overturned, or it will lose its fruitfulness.

II. But our text lays its emphasis upon the positive, permanent, constructive side of religious thought and labor. "Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." I do not think that we have here two distinct things defined, but one thing looked at from two points of view. The same thing is both grace and truth. It is a true grace, or a gracious truth, which came through Christ. It is that truth which expresses and embodies the grace of God. Christ did not aim to teach and enforce any other truth than this. He did not teach the doctrines of science, the facts of history, the principles of criticism, or the dogmas of theology. He came to seek and to save men, and He taught that truth which pertains to salvation.

It is here that we find, if I may so express it, His permanent contribution to thought and life. But this does not involve a narrow view of what Christ has done directly, and with full purpose for the guidance of the thought, as well as the conduct, of men. Let us note some things which are involved in this kind of truth.

First, He taught a new doctrine of the unity of men, and

taught it in such a way that it became a permanent factor in the conceptions and the efforts of men. Observe the way in which He taught this most fruitful doctrine. He did not rest it upon any scientific theory of the origin of man, or even upon the Biblical account of his creation. He showed a remarkable reserve about such matters, which His disciples did not always cultivate. It is Paul, and not Jesus, who speaks of all men being of one blood, and reasons of the moral unity of men through their common relation with Adam. Jesus says nothing about such matters, but supports His doctrine by entirely different considerations.

Note the bearing upon this conception of humanity of that title which He constantly applied to Himself—*The Son of Man*. Of all the names which were applied to the coming Saviour that was the one which He chose. He did not often call Himself the Messiah, though He accepted the title when others applied it to Him. He did not speak of Himself as the Son of David, and He showed that those who used this term of Him who was to be David's Lord, failed to understand its true import. He did not often call Himself the Son of God, though often enough to show his consciousness of a right to this exalted name. He tried constantly to impress upon men that He was the Son of Man, that His relation, and His mission, were with the race, not with some fraction of it, and that men would find their lost unity in their common Saviour.

The same truth was impressed by His constant reference to the fatherhood of God. His own consciousness of Sonship was so conceived and expressed as to lead men to realize that, with all its singularity and its majesty, it was the pledge and bond of union between God and all men. It made Him, not only the recipient of a supreme revelation, but the Mediator of it, so that no one knew the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son wished to reveal Him,—that is, reveal Him as Father—teach and convince of the fatherhood of God. As his Apostle says, it was the purpose of God to conform other men to the image of his Son, that He might be the first-born among many brethren.

The same doctrine is involved, also, in His teaching concerning the Kingdom of Heaven. The phrase came out of the vocabulary of Judaism, but it gained from the lips of Jesus a broader and more spiritual meaning. It became a kingdom for humanity, into which all men were to be admitted through repentance and faith,—a kingdom which was to unite all men who would enter it into one great company. Now this conception of the unity of men has grown in importance as the centuries have gone by. We have come to see that one man, or one race of men, cannot gain a full redemption, or reach perfection, in isolation from other men, and that we can save one man, or one class of men, only by saving society. The old conception of plucking men as brands from the burning—of saving a man here and there—we have come to see is not only narrow, but impossible. A saved man is not a man whose relations with the world have been severed,—the very process wounds and tears him and leaves him but a fragment of a man. He must be saved in society, not from it. His own life reaches its fullness only as he is conscious that he belongs to a great society, and feels the life-currents of the world flowing through his own veins. And the more fully we realize this in our study of the life of the Church, and in the experience of Christians, the more clearly do we see that it was the thought of Christ,—that it is one of those abiding truths which His life and teaching have communicated to the world, and which the history of the world and the experience of men have simply received and verified.

At the same time, Christ has taught men to recognize the dignity and worth of the individual, as they had never been recognized before. There is a sense in which the unity of, at least, certain classes of men had been much emphasized before Christ lived and taught. Each man lived for his nation, his tribe, or clan, and his own life and comfort were to be ignored and despised when the interest of his society was involved. But this was so conceived and practiced as to compress and degrade the individual, not to expand and elevate him. Christ taught that one wandering soul was worthy the Divine Shep-



herd's toilsome care and love. No soul can be thus brought home in the Master's arms, without realizing, in his depths of humility, his own priceless worth; and that is a lesson which is essential to a really complete salvation. It is quite as necessary to aggressive and successful labor for men.

The "Saviours of Society" have often been reckless and contemptuous of men. Christ never showed contempt for men. He rebuked men, He exposed their sins and weaknesses, He was indignant with their cruelty and selfishness, He threatened them with bitter woes; but He would never let them forget that they were born to be the children of God, and that each soul was precious in God's sight. Moreover, while He taught men that their full life was in society and as members of the kingdom, He made them ready, also, to follow their own light, to cultivate personal conscientiousness and independence of decision and action, so that He led them to see the wisdom of the paradox, to leave home and friends for the sake of the kingdom of heaven,—to sacrifice the narrower social relations to promote the larger. Are we not learning, too, that as a man can be fully redeemed only as society is redeemed, so too, society can be saved only as each man is brought to the stature of a perfect man? This, too, is one of those permanent factors of idea and of effort, which Christ has implanted in the world.

Another gracious truth, bearing in the same direction, is the doctrine of the salvability of men. It is not strange that pure and loving men are often sad and pessimistic. The world is very evil. "Man is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward." Sin has reigned in the world with a heavy, cruel hand. The great mass of men seem to yield to its power with hardly a struggle. Those who make the most earnest effort against it are often defeated, and far too often shamefully routed. The progress of the world towards righteousness is slow, vacillating, and uncertain. But how did Jesus Christ look upon this problem of human salvation? He by no means ignored its seriousness and difficulty. The soul must enter into life by a narrow gate and through a straitened way. He who will be

saved must *strive* to enter in, for many who seek to shall not be able. He must be ready to sell all that he has, to break the closest and most sacred ties of life, to bear his cross daily, to submit to reproach and pain and death. Yet Jesus never for a moment [doubted that multitudes of souls could, and would, be saved in this way—on these conditions. Not only did He put a large estimate upon the power of divine grace, but, also, upon the capacity of men to receive and respond to that grace. It is a striking fact that the life and teaching which have brought to all men the deepest sense of sin and weakness, have brought to them also the sense of dignity and power. Observe, too, in how simple and practical a way he taught this lesson. Sometimes by revealing to a soul its own moral nobility and worthiness. “Behold an Israelite, indeed, in whom there is no guile,” He says to a sincere and earnest, though evidently a narrow man, and the words of commendation were a revelation to that man, not only of the Teacher, but of himself. He saw that that searching eye had seen the real sincerity in his heart, which doubt and conscious weakness had often concealed from himself. Jesus was never afraid of promoting vanity, or teaching false doctrine, by appealing to what was really good in a penitent and trustful heart. To a woman who had been a *sinner* He says, “Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.” Truly, in such words, grace came by Jesus Christ. But it was more than grace, it was truth too,—it was gracious truth. The woman was saved by *faith*, by the mighty effort of her own soul to lay hold of the redeeming grace of Christ. She could never have been saved if she had not had the power to appropriate this blessing. And Jesus’ gracious words taught her, and teach all sinful souls, not to look to God with one despairing glance before they sink forever, but, while they look to God, to look within also—to recognize and to value as they should, the divinely given capacity for salvation, and to *lay hold* upon eternal life. To all Christian laborers He taught the same lesson. “Come with me, and I will make you fishers of men,” are the words with which He begins His Galilean

ministry. "Go, and disciple all nations," is His last commission to His disciples. Jesus never ceased to hope for men, to believe in them, to detect the faintest effort after a better life, to appeal to it and to strengthen it, and to make it the germ for the propagation of faith and goodness in other souls. He sees Peter's weakness and predicts his fall, but He sees his strength too, and predicts his recovery, and, even while His disciple stands on the threshold of his sin, He says to him, "When thou art converted *strengthen thy brethren.*" To the same disciple, penitent and humbled, He says: "Lovest thou me? . . . Feed my sheep." Thus, in many ways, did He teach this gracious truth—that human life is not hopeless, that men can be saved; and with all the pessimism which reigns in human hearts, that blessed truth is one of the permanent facts of life and labor.

I have referred thus, by way of illustration, and with no purpose or effort to cover the whole ground, to the kind of truth which Jesus either communicated to the world—or, if He found it here, made really potent among the forces which rule the world. It is the *nature* of this truth which gives us our sense of security in the Gospel; it is hopeful, not depressing truth. A gospel which lays its emphasis on the dark side of life is no gospel; it may have power to condemn, but it has no power to save. It is simple, practical, experimental truth; it does not demand profound learning, or great metaphysical ability to apprehend it, to practice, or to proclaim it. A gospel which makes such demands even of its leaders, is not a gospel; it may be true, but it is not gracious truth; it is the doctrine of a school, not the contents of a message of salvation. This truth of Christ makes its direct appeal to the common consciousness and common needs of men,—the sense of sin and weakness, the desire for a better life, the underlying, though often latent, or dormant, faith in God, the *hope* of immortality; and it treats these convictions, not as parts of a matured, systematized knowledge, but rather as the contents of feeling and of faith,—teaching us to be willing to walk by faith, to be hopeful where we cannot know,

to be true to the guiding star of duty and of love, even when we walk in darkness and in doubt.

And is not this the kind of truth our age is longing for? It is impatient with elaborate, fine-spun systems, with balanced, sounding phrases, with mysterious dogmas, and with dogmatic mysteries. It will not dispute the preacher who presents such things,—perhaps it is too indifferent to dispute him—but it will not respond to them as the world once did, as, perhaps, the world will again some time. But never were men more eager for that truth which they know they need,—the truth which will help them to live pure, honest and hopeful lives; to deny themselves, to bear their cross in patience, and to die in peace. And whatever else Christ taught, this is the very heart of the gospel, “Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.”

### III.

## REFORMED CHURCH DOCTRINES.\*

BY REV. S. Z. BEAM, D.D.

### MAN'S ONLY COMFORT.

#### CHAPTER I.

*Jesus Christ saves—The Father preserves in Him—The Holy Spirit assures us of Eternal Life.*

THE first or introductory Lord's Day, of our excellent Catechism (which is the only symbol of doctrine adopted by the Reformed Church in the United States), directs the attention of the catechumen to the sources of his "only comfort in life and death." In so doing it opens up a mine of spiritual truth, which, for simplicity and depth, is unsurpassed by any standard of doctrine outside of the sacred Scriptures. It is simple enough for the undeveloped mind of youth to see, in it, and lay hold of, the essential truths of the Christian religion. It is deep enough to require the profoundest study of the most learned theologian, who undertakes to expound the mysteries of redemption. It presents a compendium of Christian doctrine, which is as clear and comprehensive as one can desire in a symbol of faith.

The young Christian is taught, † in the very beginning, that his "body and soul" (1) †† alike are to be regarded and treated, not as if they were his own, to be used after his own pleasure, but as the property of his faithful Saviour, Jesus Christ. And this is true "both in life and death." He really belongs to

\* This article is an extract from a manuscript commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism.

† The catechumen is addressed by the catechism as a member of the church; in virtue of his baptism, he stands in covenant relation to God.

†† The numbers refer to questions in the Catechism.

Jesus Christ, who, as the incarnate Redeemer, has secured the right to this ownership, by an actual purchase, which involved the price of His own precious blood (Rom. 14: 7-9.)

By this purchase He made full and complete satisfaction for all our sins. And thus, having met and answered all the demands of the Law, and paid the debt of sin for us, He "delivered us from all the power of the devil." As long as sin stood against us, we were under its power, and the arch-enemy of men was able thereby to hold us in spiritual bondage. Thus having us bound in the fetters of sin, he could lead us deeper and deeper into captivity, and farther away from God. But God, manifesting His love in Jesus Christ, intervened for our deliverance from this bondage of corruption. And so the dominion of sin is broken, and the power of the devil overthrown (1 John 3: 8).

As our Saviour has secured us this deliverance, so He also "preserves us" in its possession, that no evil can come upon us, not even the falling of a hair from our head, without our Heavenly Father's notice (Matt. 10: 29-31). But, on the contrary, He so controls everything occurring around us, that by His watchful Providence, all "must be subservient to our salvation" (Rom. 8: 28). By this is meant that, through the mediation of Christ, God governs the world in the interest of His saints, making everything contribute to their happiness.

But, in addition to this outward protection, so graciously afforded us, God also gives us His Holy Spirit to abide in us, and to "assure us of eternal life" (Rom. 8: 16, 17; Eph. 1: 13, 14. Confer 2 Cor. 1: 21, 22). With this blessed assurance, He works in us such obedient faith, that we become "sincerely willing and ready henceforth to live unto Him" (Ps. 110: 3. Confer Luke 1: 68, 69, 74, 75). Thus our life becomes an outward testimony to the truth of our profession, and a means of comfort against the evils we suffer.

This general summary regarding the divine source of our Christian comfort, opens the way for the consideration of the

subject of salvation in its details. And the inquiry presents itself, "How many things are necessary for thee to know, that thou, enjoying this comfort, mayest live and die happy?" (2.)

This knowledge after which we inquire embraces "*three things*" : 1. *The greatness of my sin and misery.* 2. *How I am redeemed from all my sins and misery.* 3. *How I am to be thankful to God for such redemption.*

The whole sum of Christian doctrine is embraced under these three heads. This will be apparent if we consider a moment. Sin is in the world, causing misery and death. We need deliverance from a source above us, a strong arm to save, because in ourselves we are helpless. When He who is mighty delivers, He has the right to our gratitude expressed in the highest possible form.

The elucidation of these three essential particulars, which form the substance of true Christian knowledge, will consist in simply an unfolding of the great truths they involve. Their consideration and explanation is the work before us. To this we therefore address ourselves, with the Catechism for our guide, and the Holy Scriptures for our ultimate authority. (The following passages may here be consulted : Rom. 7 : 24, 25 ; Matt. 11 : 28, 29, 30 ; also, Titus 3 ; 1 Cor. 6.)

We may here remark that this threefold division of the Catechism is based on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, which discusses these questions in the same order. In the first part St. Paul shows that all, Jews and Gentiles alike, are included under sin and misery. In the second part he shows that Christ has become the Author of salvation to all that believe. And in the third part, he incites the Roman Christians to deeds of gratitude and thankfulness for their salvation. A similar division may be seen briefly stated in Titus 3 : 3-9.

THE FIRST PART.  
OF THE MISERY OF MAN.

CHAPTER II.

*Man's Misery—God not the Author of sin—Depravity due to Disobedience.  
—Man inclined to all Wickedness.*

It needs neither revelation nor argument to prove that mankind is in a state of sin, and consequent misery. The whole history of mankind comes down to us freighted with the burden of sin from the earliest ages, and all along it exhibits the ineffectual efforts of men to cast it off. And present experience daily testifies to the sad effects of sin, by the struggles through which all classes of society are passing. And yet these sad facts are not sufficient to convince men of their own individual sinfulness as the real and true cause of their misery. While we all possess in a greater or less degree a general knowledge of the universal depravity of the race, no one seems to recognize his own personal responsibility for this deplorable state of affairs. And for this reason all our efforts to relieve or remove the sorrows of life are conducted in wrong channels, and, therefore, end in failure. We easily see, and wish to reform, the conduct of others, while we seem to imagine that no such reform is needed in ourselves. It is the guilt of our neighbor, and not of ourselves, which seems to us to cause the trouble. Or if in any sense we find ourselves involved in guilt, we are ever ready, with Adam, to shift the responsibility on some one else: "The woman whom Thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat" (Gen. 3: 12). The expressive couplet of Burns applies here:

"O wad some power the giftie gie us  
To see oursels as ithers see us;  
It wad frae mony a blunder free us,  
And foolish notion."

It is necessary that the knowledge of personal guilt and responsibility should be brought home to the mind and con-



science of every one, in order that he may know how miserable he is, and how his personal wretchedness is due to his own sins. Without this knowledge, no one will take the right course in any of his attempts to free himself from harassing and perplexing difficulties. Indeed, he cannot deliver himself in any case. He must depend on some other power for salvation. But he needs a knowledge of his sin as the source of his wretchedness, in order to look about him to find, if possible, some way of escape.

Happily, God has not forsaken him in his helpless and lost condition. He has not left Himself without witness, nor kept man in ignorance of his lost condition, but has furnished him a means of knowing his inability to save himself, and thereby has given him a motive to impel him to seek relief.

If now, one asks, "Whence can I know my misery?" the answer is, "Out of the Law of God" (3). This law is briefly stated by our Saviour in Matt. 22: 37-40. It requires supreme love to God and unselfish love to men (4). We cannot very well show this supreme love to God except as we exercise loving-kindness to men: "My goodness extendeth not to thee, but to the saints that are in the earth," etc. (Ps. 16: 2, 3). According to this divine Law we must love our neighbor as ourselves; which means that we must do for others the kindness which we expect from them. This law has special application in cases of necessity or distress. If in any case we would wish another to render us assistance, or comfort, or words of encouragement, the Law of Love requires us to render the same acts of beneficence to them, and to all who may need our good offices. By our obedience to this second commandment, we have the opportunity of proving our obedience to the first. But if we "love not our brother whom we have seen, how can we love God whom we have not seen?" (1 John 4: 20). "And this commandment we have from Him, that he who loveth God love His brother also" (1 John 4: 21).

The natural and necessary penalty attached to the violation of this Law, is that we have no claim to relief from God, or from men. And if penalty does not reach us in any outward way,

yet it will come in the lashings of a guilty conscience, from which there is no escape.

The form of words connected with the violation of the Law is, "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the Law to do them."

Now, if we compare our actions with this law of love, everyone must see and confess how far he comes short of a perfect obedience. In fact, we do not obey it, even in our thoughts and intentions, much less in our outward actions. And hence, it is clear, that, "By the Law is the knowledge of sin" (Rom. 3: 20; confer Rom. 7: 7).

In consequence of this proneness to sin, we not only fail "to keep all these things perfectly" (5), but we find our very nature, as affected by sin, disposed "to hate God and our neighbor." And this is the direct contrary of God's Law, which commands us to love God and our neighbor. So it appears we cannot love God and our neighbor (Jer. 13: 23; Rom. 3: 12), because we are inclined to hate them (Rom. 8: 7; John 3: 20. Confer Gal. 5: 19-21; Titus 3: 3.)

Thus, according to the highest authority, namely, the word of God, we cannot perfectly obey God's Law, as long as we are not regenerated by the Spirit of God. And, besides this, a personal examination of our own hearts, and an earnest scrutiny of our motives, must convince us of the justice of the charge which the word of God makes against us. We are selfish in relation to our brother. We expect more from him than we are willing to give to him. Even after we have become children of God we find it necessary to struggle against this selfishness. And this again shows how little we love God, for we are wilfully disobedient. Accordingly, how frequently do we find our hearts rebelling against the ways of God to men, arraigning His Providence, as if He were under obligations to us, rather than we to Him. From all this, it is painfully clear that our misery is made known to us, by the Law of God, as the consequence of our own sin. We are in conflict with it by nature and by practice, and therefore must, in the very nature of things, be subject to its penalty.

## CHAPTER III.

*Original Righteousness—The Fall—Sinfulness—Inbred and Actual.*

Since we find ourselves in this state of sin and misery, in consequence of our rebellion towards God, and hatefulness towards each other, the question naturally arises: "Did God then create us so wicked and perverse" (6)?

As long as men are in a state of nature, unregenerated and unconverted, they feel disposed to cast the blame upon God, because He is the Author of their being. "Did He not create me as I am? Can I think or act contrary to my nature? Why should I be blamed for doing what human nature is inclined to do?" Thus the sinner attempts to ease his conscience. He finds an excuse for his sins by shifting the responsibility upon his Creator.

But God assures us in His word that everything He created, including man, was good, when it came from the Creator's hand (Gen 1 : 31). Hence, it appears that God, by no means, created man wicked and perverse. "He created man good, and after His own image" (6), even in His "likeness" (Gen. 1 : 27). This does not refer to any bodily likeness or image, for God is not body, but Spirit. It is God's moral and spiritual likeness which furnished the model after which man was created. It is "His righteousness and holiness," or His moral purity and freedom from sin. Thus, originally, man was righteous and holy, as he came from the hands of the Creator. Of course, this righteousness and holiness were of a negative character: that is, he had not done anything bad. So he was in harmony, morally and spiritually, with God. To restore him to this high position is one of the objects of redemption (Eph. 4 : 24), that those who are saved, may "put on the new man, which, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness." God's evident design in the creation of man was to put him in a position, with favorable circumstances, where he might develop his faculties in harmony with the divine will. If, in accord with

this design, he had maintained his integrity, he would have advanced to a position of positive righteousness and holiness. Thus he would have come to a right knowledge of God, his Creator. Then, too, he would have learned to love God with all his heart, and showed himself worthy "to live with Him in eternal happiness, to glorify and praise Him" (6). "The Lord made all for Himself" (Prov. 16: 4); that is, for "His own purposes" (Revised Version, margin), which included the happiness of mankind.

But He also gave man a moral nature, endowing him with reason and will, and with the power of choice. And to afford an opportunity for the exercise of these godlike faculties, it was necessary to put him on trial. This trial consisted in testing him, whether he would, with unquestioning confidence, obey the command of God. If he had obeyed he would have confirmed himself, in the righteousness and holiness with which he was endowed in his creation, by his own voluntary choice and act.

Failing, in such obedience to the will of God, he would incur His displeasure, and deprive himself and all his posterity of the divine gifts of righteousness. So far as God was concerned, the trial of our first parents was very simple and very easy. He had given them a pure and holy nature. He had placed them in a beautiful garden. He had made everything agreeable for them. They loved Him and were delighted when God talked with them face to face. God gave them every tree of the garden for food, of which they might freely eat, except "the tree of knowledge of good and evil." Of this tree they were commanded not to eat: for in the day that they would eat of it they would die. Would they eat of this tree, or would they not? (Gen. 2: 15-17.) Would they be satisfied to enjoy all the rest of the fruit of this beautiful garden, and, taking God at His word, refrain from the forbidden fruit? In this consisted the trial. It was no temptation.\* God tempts no man. But

\* Whatever we may think of divine foreknowledge, or divine foreordination, it is clear that the temptation, presented by the serpent, was *no necessary* part of the trial. The tempter took advantage of the trial which was to test their obedience, and *turned it into a temptation.*

the tempter intruded upon them, created distrust in their minds and induced them to eat the forbidden fruit (Gen. 3: 1-7).

Thus they disobeyed God at the instigation of the devil. When we inquire therefore, "Whence proceeds this depravity of human nature" (7), the answer clearly is, "From the fall and disobedience of our first parents, Adam and Eve, in Paradise; hence our nature is become so corrupt that we are all conceived and born in sin."

The corruption of sin, having now taken hold of human nature in its fountain head, it has become a running stream, carrying in its course the poison of sin to all the descendants of Adam. Thus they have become tainted, and every child of Adam comes into this world with a depraved nature, "conceived and born in sin." "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned" (Rom. 6: 12). "And Adam begat a son in his own likeness" (Gen. 5: 3. Conf. Ps. 51: 15; John 3: 6).

In this way we have become corrupted in mind and heart and will, so that, in all our faculties, we are inclined to evil, so that we can do nothing really good till we are regenerated by the Spirit of God (8). Our original or inbred sin always develops itself into actual sin as soon as we come to years of accountability. (Rom. 7: 18; 2 Cor. 3: 5; Gen. 8: 21; Job 15: 16.)

But while our nature has become so corrupt, that sinning has become a part of us, we are yet not so totally depraved as to be beyond hope of redemption. The image of God has become sadly and deplorably marred and defaced, but not wholly destroyed, or irretrievably lost. There is yet within us a point of contact, where the Holy Spirit can renew us by a birth from above, and restore this blessed image of God. Christ can be "born in us the hope of glory," and God can "beget us again" to a life of holiness. But we anticipate. We will see more of this later on.

CHAPTER IV.

*Man's Free Will—Capability lost by willful Disobedience—Disobedience must be punished—God's Mercy cannot cheat His Justice.*

God requires obedience. Free will, an original gift of God to man, made him capable of performing God's will, or of disobeying that will. He chose to disobey. In consequence of this disobedience and rebellion, he is now no longer able to render that obedience which God requires.

“Does not God then wrong man, by requiring of him in His Law that which he cannot perform?” (9). This seems to be a pertinent question. If man had been made with a nature inclined to sin; or if, in his original state, his will had not been free to choose the good, it certainly would have been wrong to require an impossibility from him; and then to hold him responsible for a defect in his nature which he could not overcome or remedy. But God is not at all unjust in His demands; for “He made man capable of performing His will, but man, by the instigation of the devil, and his own willful disobedience, deprived himself and all his posterity, or descendants of those divine gifts” (9), that is, the gifts of righteousness and true holiness. If now this is true, then man must bear the entire responsibility for his inability to please God. For it is due to his own willful choice. “Lo, this have I found, that God hath made man upright, but they have sought out many inventions” (Eccl. 7: 29).

That our first parents were subjected to a severe and subtle temptation, can not be denied, as the history of the fall testifies. (Gen. 3). “The serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety” (2 Cor. 11: 3). “And by one man's disobedience many were made sinners” (Rom. 5: 19). But the progenitors of our race were in a position to have successfully resisted the temptation, if they had chosen to do so. Though they may not have had the wisdom to detect, in the serpent, the enemy of God and man, they knew that God was true and good. And, therefore, they should have closed their ears to any insinuations that, in

any way, contradicted Him. But alas! they listened; they parleyed; they doubted God's word, and perhaps His goodness. They believed the tempter's lie. They looked longingly at the forbidden but beautiful fruit. They desired to be as gods, knowing good and evil. They sinned in thought, they ate, and fell, and dragged down the race into sin. Henceforth they were incapable, in consequence of their own bad choice, of performing the will of God. Must, therefore, the great and good Lawgiver change the nature of His Law to suit the changed condition of the offenders? That would be contrary to all our ideas of right. For even our perverted sense of moral obligation is not so blunted as to expect a righteous Law to be made unrighteous in order to make a way of escape for those who violate it. The only thing that can be justly done is to let the violated Law have its penalty. And accordingly the Judge of all the earth, who will do only what is right, "will not suffer such disobedience and rebellion to go unpunished" (10).

"He is terribly displeased with sin," and "hates all workers of iniquity" (Ps. 5: 5). "Thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness; neither shall evil dwell with Thee" (Ps. 4: 5). It follows, therefore, that God will punish sin, original and actual, in His just displeasure (10), for it is written, "Cursed is every one," etc. Sin is so obnoxious to His holiness, that He will not, and cannot, let it go unpunished. It is so irreconcilably antagonistic and repugnant to God, that even our original sin, which is but a taint upon human nature, is displeasing to Him (Rom. 5: 14; Eph. 2: 3; Ps. 51: 7). And if our original sin is repugnant to Him, much more does our actual sin deserve His wrath and indignation. And hence in His just judgment He will punish sin; both temporally and eternally, being "angry with the wicked every day" (Ps. 7: 11).

As regards temporal punishment, it is written, "Bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days" (Ps. 55: 23). Indeed, in consequence of sin, and God's wrath against it, we all must die after a few years of toil and trouble in the world, according to the divine behest, "The soul that sinneth it shall

die." We all come into the world "with a wail, and go out with a groan." And thus even those who are saved by Christ must yet put off this mortal body in death before their final deliverance is consummated. The writer of the ninetieth Psalm expresses an overwhelming sense of the frailty and sorrow of man under the wrath of God against sin.

Examples of temporal punishment are vividly and awfully furnished us in the account of the flood (Gen. 6: 12-17, and Gen. 7: 17, et seq.), and in the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 19: 24, 25).

But more terrible still is the Scripture doctrine of eternal punishment, which rests somewhat on the fact of eternal sinning. "Their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched, and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh" (Isa. 66: 24. Confer 2 Pet. 2: 9; Rev. 14: 11; Mark 3: 29; Rev. Ver.). As regards the Christian, the evils which he suffers in this world, can be regarded only in the light of divine punishments for sin, in order to discipline us. And, though often such penalties are the consequence of violating nature's laws, yet they are only what we deserve. But, in the case of the unconverted sinners, where such punishments fail to lead them to repentance, they are but the foretaste and prelude of that more awful punishment which awaits them in the world to come. Happy, therefore, is every one who accepts present punishment as the chastisement of a loving Father, who designs thereby to lead him to repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ.

But if God is so just that He cannot let sin go unpunished, "Is He not then also merciful" (11)? "God is indeed also merciful," and "His mercy endureth forever." But His mercy in no sense sets aside His justice. There can be no doubt that He pities even the sinner, and cares for him. He preserves him and supplies his wants, though every moment that he continues in rebellion he deserves to die without remedy. And in addition to his preservation, God is continually warning him of his danger, calling upon him to turn from his sins and seek



forgiveness. But still, merciful as He is, "sin which is committed against the most high majesty of God," deserves, as God's justice requires, "to be punished with extreme, that is, with everlasting punishment, both of body and soul." We have a clear statement, declaring both the justice and mercy of God, in Exod. 34: 6, 7, where He put Moses in the cleft of the rock on Sinai, and caused His glory to pass by. "And the Lord passed by before him, and proclaimed, the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty: visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon children's children unto the third and to the fourth generation." (Confer 2 Thes. 1: 6-10; Exod. 20: 5.)

From all this, it is easy to see that it must be the height of folly for the sinner to presume upon the mercy of God, as long as he continues to sin against Him. For, "justice and judgment are the habitation of His throne" (Ps. 89: 14). "And He is of purer eyes than to behold evil, and cannot look on iniquity" (Hab. 1: 13). "And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up forever and ever" (Rev. 14: 11). (Confer also Mark 9: 44; Matt. 25: 46.)

## THE SECOND PART.

### OF MAN'S DELIVERANCE.

#### CHAPTER V.

*God's Justice must be Satisfied—No mere Creature can Satisfy it—The Mediator must be very Man and also very God.*

FROM what has been said in preceding chapters, it appears that man, in his unregenerate and unrepentant condition, is in a state of helpless misery. He cannot hope, by any means or inventions of his own, to escape from the deserved punishment of sin, or even to alleviate his wretchedness. On the contrary, he is like an ox struggling in the mire. All his unassisted

efforts to extricate himself sink him deeper into sin and suffering; so that he must learn by sad experience, that he cannot obtain deliverance. The futile attempts exhibited in all heathen religions furnish a continuous and abundant historical evidence, that "man by searching cannot find God." They have, as they always must, ended in the helpless cry for deliverance.

Still, notwithstanding the state of mankind is so desperate, viewed from the standpoint of sin, yet it must be said, to the praise and glory of God, that He has not left us to be crushed, by the burden of sin, into irretrievable ruin. He is our Father; and although we richly merit His displeasure, and deserve condign punishment, yet He has not visited us with the extreme penalty. He has "no pleasure in the death of the wicked," but like the father of the prodigal son, He yearns over sinners and stands with open arms to receive them into His favor (12). But not only so: He has made a way of access by which we may return, receive forgiveness, and be fully reinstated, and put in possession of our forfeited inheritance. But in infinite wisdom, He has not allowed His justice to be defeated. The salvation which He secured, embraced, along with our deliverance, the full satisfaction of His justice, and the vindication of His righteous Law. And this satisfaction was made, not independently of human nature, but in it, because human nature must, in the nature of the case, make the satisfaction required. For God could not, consistently with justice, punish any other creature for man's sin (14).—We cannot, of course, render the necessary satisfaction, as we have already learned, (13) because we are continually "increasing the debt" (Rom. 2: 5).

But God, seeing this defect in man, found "another" (12) who was "mighty to save" (Ps. 69: 4; 2 Cor. 5: 21; Rom. 8: 3, 4). But that "other" assumed human nature, and thereby met the conditions necessary. "No creature could sustain the burden of God's wrath against sin, so as to deliver others from it" (14). Hence, as sinful man could not save, and God's mercy would not punish another mere creature in his stead, the Mediator must be both man and God. He must be "very man

and perfectly righteous" (15), that He might be free from sin. He must be "very God," so as to be more powerful than all mere creatures, and thus be able, by His almighty power, to sustain His human nature under the weight of sin, and the burden of God's eternal wrath against it (1 Cor. 15 : 21 ; Heb. 2 : 14, and 17 ; Heb. 7 : 26 ; Jer. 23 : 6).

That our Deliverer must be both human and divine, in the constitution of His person, seems necessary for the following reasons :

A creature is necessarily finite and therefore limited, both in will and in powers of endurance. But even if one could be found, who was willing to undertake the task of bearing the burden of sin, he must either be destroyed or suffer forever. Hence it would require eternity in which to complete the satisfaction ; and, therefore, it follows that the benefit, intended by His sacrifice for man, could never be applied.

This deliverance must come from a source that is not only perfectly righteous, but at the same time absolutely unlimited, or more "powerful than all creatures" (15).

The Mediator whom we must seek for, must be capable of representing God to men, and men to God. He must be on an equality with God, and yet come to God from the stand-point of human nature. Therefore He must be man, possessing all the original attributes of manhood, perfect and positively righteous, not only by nature, but also by His own voluntary act.

Only such an one could be acceptable to God. Only such an one can approach the throne of grace with any assurance of success. Only such an one has the right to expect the ear of God to be open to His cry.

But the same person, to be a successful Mediator, must be all powerful and irresistible. Or else man, who depends upon Him for salvation, can not rely on Him. He must be fully able to assure us that He can deliver us. It is, therefore, evident that He must be God, in all the goodness of His mercy, and in all the plenitude of His power.

Such a Mediator we can believe. Such an one we can trust with unwavering confidence. And such an one God can accept.

## CHAPTER VI.

*The Mediator—Must be God and Man—Is our Lord Jesus Christ.*

It is very evident that our Redeemer must be “very man, and perfectly righteous,” because “the justice of God requires that the same human nature which hath sinned, should likewise make satisfaction for sin” (16). “The soul that sinneth it shall die.” This is in full accord with divine justice, and at the same time harmonizes with the true moral sense of mankind. Therefore God would not demand satisfaction from angels, or any possible intelligent creature, for the sake of mankind, which alone was guilty. And yet sinful men could not offer a sufficient atonement. For if one could satisfy for himself, it must be by suffering the whole penalty of the Law. But that would require the eternal ages. As all men are sinners, it is, therefore, easy to see that there could be no deliverance; for no one can satisfy for others’ guilt, after having come under condemnation for his own sins. “Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book” (Exod. 32: 33). (Confer Rom. 5: 15.)

The Deliverer must himself be perfectly righteous, and not under condemnation; so that it was impossible for any man, or for all men combined, to secure salvation. “For such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens, who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people’s.” (Heb. 7: 26, 27; 1 Peter 3: 18; 2 Cor. 5: 21. Confer Isa. 53: 11, and Jer. 33: 15.)

Again, if a creature could be found free from sin, even he could not make the atonement, without being destroyed, unless he possessed more than human power and endurance. Indeed no power short of omnipotence could accomplish such a stupendous miracle. And therefore it follows that He who saves mankind “must be also very God” (17). The Man, in whom dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, can, “by the power of His Godhead, sustain in His human nature the burden of God’s

wrath." As "the wages of sin is death," He who saves sinners from their fate must die in their stead, and thereby bear their sins away, and clear them from guilt before God; thus obtaining "righteousness and life for them, and restoring it to them." Without restoration to righteousness no man can obtain life; but must remain "dead in trespasses and in sins," and in the end suffer the pains of eternal death.

It is to the glory of redeeming grace that God furnished a Mediator, who is, in His own person, divine and human, born a Mediator, capable of suffering for sins, dying on the cross, and, "by the power of an endless life, living again to assure us of eternal life." (Isa. 9: 6; Isa. 53: 4; Acts 2: 24; 2 Cor. 13: 4.) (Confer also Jer. 33: 16; Isa. 53: 5; 2 John 3: 16; Acts 20: 28, and 1 John 4: 9.)

Such a Mediator God gave us in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, "who is in one person both very God and a real righteous man" (18). As Lord He is our Master and Ruler. As Jesus, He is our Saviour. As Christ, He is the Anointed of the Holy Ghost to be our Prophet, Priest and King, which will be more fully considered in future chapters.

That Jesus Christ is our Mediator, it is written, "There is one God and one Mediator between God and man—the man Christ Jesus." (1 Tim. 2: 5, 6; Matt. 1: 23; Isa. 7: 14; Luke 2: 11.) His divinity is also declared in many passages, as John 1: 1–5, and also John 1: 14, where it is written, "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." In this last passage we are to understand that the only-begotten Son of God took upon Himself human nature, for in fact such is the explanation of the Evangelist himself in the same verse. (Confer here Phil. 2: 7, 8).

Now this Divine-human Mediator, "of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption" (18). 1 Cor. 1: 30; Col. 2: 3; 2 Cor. 5: 21; Rom. 10: 4; Eph. 1: 7; Heb. 10: 10).

As the eternal Word, revealing to us the knowledge of God and of our lost condition, and declaring to us the way of salva-

tion through Himself, He is called our "Wisdom." Restoring us to God, reconciling us to Him by His death, and thereby securing our justification and the divine declaration of our pardon, He is our "Righteousness."

"Born in us" by the Holy Ghost, "the hope of glory," He works in us, by His word and Spirit, a growing purity of heart, and an increasing holiness of life, and therefore He is called our "Sanctification." Again, as He gave His own life a ransom for us, thus paying the price of our deliverance, and opening a way of access to God for us, thus giving us assurance of acceptance and forgiveness, He is called our "Redemption." In Jesus Christ, therefore, as the God-man and Mediator between God and man, we have, by the infinite mercy of God, a complete and perfect salvation.

We come to know all this, not from intuition, nor from our unaided study of nature and divine things, but from the holy Gospel. That mere human reason could never invent or discover the truth of the Gospel is evident, because the great philosophers and students of nature, with all their scientific research, always find themselves groping in the dark, and blind leaders of the blind, when they attempt to discuss the moral and spiritual concerns of mankind, without the aid of divine revelation. Nature, indeed, is a revelation of God, but only in a material point of view. And accordingly it can furnish no light on spiritual things. The holy Gospel is our only source of reliable knowledge concerning our relation to God and spiritual things. The Gospel (good news—glad tidings), distinctively so-called, is found in the first four books of the New Testament. But it is also true that the Gospel is discoverable, more or less clearly, in all the books of the Bible. It is therefore proper to affirm that I know the plan of salvation "from the holy Gospel which God Himself revealed in Paradise" (19), where God, in addressing the serpent, said, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel" (Gen. 3: 15).

This promise was probably not fully understood when first spoken. It was intended to send a ray of hope into the sorrowing hearts of our first parents, and so far answered its immediate purpose in preserving them from despair. This appears to be indicated, when, at the birth of Cain, "the mother of all living" said, "I have gotten me a man from the Lord" (Gen. 4: 1), doubtless supposing that this was the seed that was to bruise the serpent's head.

But we now know that this first promise pointed, however dimly, to the coming of Christ, as the seed of the woman. It is probable that the "seed" includes the human race in its totality, as all are the descendants of the first pair; but it ultimately means the race, gathered up in the person of Christ, who, as second head, is the true "seed," representing the race, and who met the devil in deadly conflict. In the struggle, Jesus died; but He rose again from the dead, and by this victory of life over death, He destroyed the works of the devil (1 John 3: 8).

In securing the death of Jesus, the devil bruised His heel, and continues to do so by persecuting His followers; for what is done to them is done to Him (Matt. 25: 40). This beginning of the revelation of the Gospel was made by God Himself in Paradise before the expulsion of our first parents and the removal of the tree of life.

It was afterwards unfolded in the course of the ages, and made known more clearly and definitely to the holy Patriarchs. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, each in his time, received the promise, that in his seed all the families of the earth should be blessed (Gen. 22: 18; 26: 4; 28: 14). And this seed is expressly declared to be the Christ (Gal. 3: 16). The promise in a different form was made to the tribe of Judah, which was to be the royal tribe of Israel, from which Christ actually came, as is shown by the tables of genealogy both in Matthew and in Luke. (Confer Gen. 49: 10.)

The Gospel thus promised to good men was repeated to their children from generation to generation, until the children of

Jacob became a nation, to whom were committed the oracles of God. After their settlement in the promised land, God raised up prophets unto them, who repeated the promises and received new revelations as God was pleased to give them. Thus the original Gospel was reiterated from age to age, with ever-increasing clearness and distinctness, and the hope of our first parents was kept alive. And the personal characteristics of the Messiah, and the nature of His mission and work, were described in prophetic language, with wonderful minuteness and accuracy and with ever-increasing clearness as the ages rolled on.

“All the prophets from Samuel, and those that followed after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days” (Acts 23: 24. Confer John 5: 46; Rom. 1: 2, 3; Heb. 1: 1, with Acts 10: 43).

The same Gospel was published and represented in the form of object lessons, to the ancient people of God, “by the shadows of sacrifices and other ceremonies of the Law” (19). The offering of animals, according to the requirement of the Levitical Law, was called a sacrifice, because the animal was made sacred and set apart by a consecrating prayer, and then slain and consumed on the altar, as an offering and substitute for the sinner, whose life had been forfeited by sin. But, as the real effectual sacrifice for sin was made by Christ Himself, those legal offerings are, after all, only the shadows of sacrifices. But God was willing to accept them from sincere worshipers as a substitute, until the sacrifice of the Son of God could be made, on account of which man can receive the remission of sins; John 1: 29 (Acts 10: 43; 1 Cor. 5: 7; Gal. 4: 4; Col. 2: 17; Heb. 10: 1).

Thus, all the ceremonies of the Law, with their purifications, shadowed forth the sacrifice of Christ, whose blood alone could purify the hearts and consciences of men. And they served the purpose of types and adumbrations of the Lamb of God. Thus was published through them the glad tidings of salvation.

But in the end, all prophecies, publications and representa-



tions of the coming salvation reached their “ accomplishment in the only-begotten Son of God ” (19). All before Him was in the form of promise. But in Him the promises are fulfilled ; and the light of the Gospel, like the sun in the East, arose out of the mist and gloom of the ages of type and shadow. And the Sun of Righteousness, the true light of the world, began to illuminate the spiritual sky, so that men might see, and rejoice in, the Gospel as the complete revelation of salvation in the person of Jesus Christ.

## IV.

### THE MINISTER'S POWER OF FORGIVING AND RETAINING SINS.

BY REV. WM. RUPP, D. D.

WHEN Jesus for the first time spoke of establishing a Church, He said to Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven," Matt. 16 : 19. The same power of binding and loosing is afterwards promised to all the disciples alike, Matt. 18 : 18. And, accordingly, when Jesus had risen from the dead, and appeared for the first time in the midst of His assembled disciples, "He breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost : whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them ; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained," John 20 : 22, 23.

When the words recorded in this last passage were uttered, the process of human redemption had been completed in the person of Christ. His self-sanctification had been perfected in His death ; and the new spiritual creation, accomplished in His person, had been finished in His resurrection, by which He was "declared to be the Son of God in power, according to the Spirit of holiness." The way was, therefore, now open for the communication, through the Holy Spirit, of the power and life of the new creation to the world of sinful humanity which Jesus had come to save, and whose spiritual Head He had become ; and the occurrence described by St. John in the passage quoted above, may be regarded as the beginning of this communication of saving life from the Head to the members of a redeemed humanity.

During His previous ministry Jesus had prepared a number of chosen disciples to become the foundation of His Church. The body thus prepared by the personal ministry of Jesus was subsequently quickened and animated by the life of the glorified Christ, through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost; and of that inspiration of the Spirit, which ultimately made the Church to be the body of Christ, the breathing upon the disciples by the risen Jesus on that first Easter evening may be regarded as the beginning and pledge. This breathing of Jesus upon the assembled disciples may be compared to the divine breath by which man is said to have originally become a living, rational being. "God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." As the divine inspiration made man a rational, immortal soul, so the inspiration of Christ now makes of the chosen disciples new moral and spiritual beings. They are animated by a new spiritual or heavenly life—the life of the Second Man, "the Man of heaven;" and that makes them new moral and spiritual personalities, in whom the power of sin is broken, and the law of righteousness, and holiness, and love has become a vital energy.

But the power of the new creation, now accomplished in the souls of the disciples, is designed to be a continuous and ever-progressive power in humanity. As the leaven put into a quantity of meal acts until the whole mass is leavened, so the power of the new Christian life, which has now been lodged in humanity, though not as something separated from Christ, is designed to operate until the whole being of humanity shall have felt its regenerating and transforming efficacy. And this operation of the power of Christian life among men is ever bound to the body of Christian believers as its medium or element. In the created universe power of any kind requires an organ through which it may be exercised; and the organ which Christ has created for the exercise of His spiritual power in the world is His body, the Church. Those who have themselves felt the influence of the salutary grace of Christ

are to become instruments and means for the continuation of His saving work among men. The spiritual quality which has been imparted to them, they are in turn to impart to others. They are to serve, both collectively and individually, as organs of Christ for the taking away of the sin of the world, and for the establishment of the kingdom of God. The transformation of a sinful world into a world in which dwelleth righteousness—the conversion of a humanity that is carnal, depraved, sinful, into a humanity that shall be spiritual, pure, holy : this is the task of the Christian Church, and within the Church especially of the ministerial office. This we believe to be the fact or truth expressed in the words of the risen Jesus : “ Whosoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them ; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.”

These words, as is well known, have received very different interpretations from different commentators, and become the occasion of a vast amount of misunderstanding and abuse in the Christian world. While some have explained the promise which they contain as merely personal and temporal, and as having no significance for the Church beyond the time of the apostles, others have built upon these and similar expressions of Scripture a theory of the Christian ministry, which transforms the latter from a body of servants into an order of lords over God's heritage, such as is repugnant to the whole spirit of Christianity. In particular, the words of Jesus in the above passage have been interpreted to mean, that He was about to delegate to the apostles judicial and autonomic power to forgive or refuse to forgive sins—a power which they, so long as they should keep within the forms of their commission, might use according to their own pleasure, and which they might delegate to others after them to be used by them in like manner. The idea is that Christ created a distinct and self-perpetuating caste, consisting of the apostles and their successors, whom He clothed with His own authority ; so that, acting in due form, the acts of the ministry bind Christ Himself, and this too without regard to the moral nature or character of

these acts. The statement, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven," is taken to mean that the acts of a "legitimate" minister, that is, one of "apostolic succession," necessarily bind Christ Himself; in like manner as the acts of an ambassador bind his government, although they may not always be in harmony with its mind. As a government is bound to stand by the acts of an ambassador whom it has clothed with plenipotentiary authority to act in its name and on its behalf, so Christ is bound to stand by the acts of His vicar, without regard to the question whether these acts are exactly in agreement with His mind or not. The words and acts of the Christain minister thus acquire something of a magical character. Like the incantations and enchantment of the sorcerer, they accomplish results out of all relation to the law of causation.

The moral and religious consequences of this doctrine are well known. Men without grace in their hearts have imagined that they could arbitrarily dispense the grace of Christ. Priests with all the passions of unsanctified human nature, have imagined that they could dispose of men's destiny both in time and in eternity. They could open or shut the fountains of divine grace. They could put lands under interdict; they could shut up the spiritual heavens over whole countries, so that there might be neither rain nor dew of grace; and by their employment of the pains and penalties of spiritual power they could control the acts of governments and of nations. They believed that they held in their hands the fate of the living and of the dead. They could, at their own will, open and close the gates of heaven to the souls of men. They could declare men righteous or reprobate as they pleased. They could give men's bodies to the flames and consign their souls to the fires of hell. And many a time in history have crimes of the blackest dye been committed against the best and saintliest of the people of God, under pretense of this binding, this plenipotentiary power of the priesthood.

Such power God has not given unto men. Christ, indeed, as

the Son of Man, claimed and exercised power on earth to forgive sins. He said to the sick of the palsy: "Son, be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven;" and He proved His power by healing the man's physical infirmity, and commanding him to take up his bed and walk. But Christ possessed this power because He was the Son of God, and because His will was always one with the will of the Father. "I and the Father are one," He says. And Christ never parted with this power to forgive sins on the earth. He did not abdicate His power when He said to His disciples, "All authority hath been given unto Me in heaven and on earth; go ye therefore and make disciples." And when He said to Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," He did not so part with the power of the keys that Peter and his successors afterwards could do with them what they pleased. In the Apocalyptic Epistle to the Church of Philadelphia, we read: "These things saith He that is holy, He that is true, He that hath the key of David, He that openeth, and none shall shut, and that shutteth, and none openeth." This "key of David" is nothing else than that spiritual power indicated by the expression, "keys of the kingdom of heaven," in the promise given to Peter. Christ holds that key in His own hands, and will not suffer it to be used for unjust and unholy purposes. Christ Himself is still the Lord in the kingdom of heaven; and He holds in His own hands the power of opening and shutting, the power of binding and loosing, or the power of forgiving and retaining sins.\*

But this power of forgiving and retaining sins He exercises

\* Cf. Trench, *Epistles to the Seven Churches in Asia*, pp. 231-2. "Christ teaches us here," says Trench, "that He has not so committed the keys of the kingdom of heaven, with the power of binding and loosing, to any other, His servants, here, but that He still retains the highest administration of them in His own hands. If at any time there is error in their binding and loosing, if they make sad the heart which He has not made sad, if they speak peace to the heart to which He has not spoken peace, then His judgment shall stand, and not theirs. . . . It was in the faith of this that Huss, when the greatest Council which Christendom had seen for a thousand years delivered his soul to Satan, did himself confidently commend it to the Lord Jesus Christ."

on earth now through earthly and human agencies. They who have experienced the absolving and spiritually cleansing power of the life of Christ in the Holy Spirit, are made to be the organs and instruments for the extension and application of the same power to others. Christ is the life of men ; He is the source of salutary grace for the world ; but they who believe on Him become, in their turn, fountains of spiritual life to those around them. " He that believeth on Me , as the Scripture has said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." This we believe to be the profound truth expressed in the words of Jesus : " Whosoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them." And this is in agreement with the fundamental law of the moral world, that moral power can be exercised only through an agency that is of the same order or kind with that which it is intended to affect. The Son of God had to become man in order that He might effect the moral regeneration of humanity. And for the same reason that Christ had to be man in order to be man's Redeemer, He can now carry on His saving work, or His sin-forgiving, sin-removing work, among men only through human agency. The regenerating and sanctifying power of Christ does not work in humanity spontaneously, as a divine force works in the physical world ; nor is its operation secured by any ministry of angels, who are not of a kindred nature with men ; but only through the ministry of men, whose nature Christ assumed. In other words, the divine forgiveness of sin on earth is a moral process accomplished in humanity through the ministry of men : a *moral* process, we say, not a physical, or magical, or merely judicial process.

The idea of forgiving sin is not merely the notion of remitting its *penalty*. That, indeed, is the conception which many have of the forgiveness of sins. To forgive one a sin, according to this conception, is simply *not to impute its guilt*, or rather, *not to exact its penalty*. When the governor of a state pardons a criminal, he simply takes off, or remits, the penalty that has been imposed upon him ; while such clemency may not at all affect the criminal's character or disposition. The criminal, after

having been pardoned, may remain exactly the same man that he was before. And after this manner the divine forgiveness is often regarded. Forgiveness is simply the non-infliction of the penalty which sin has deserved, and this without any change in the moral character of the sinner. People, accordingly, may continue to live in sin, and yet somehow enjoy the feeling that their sins will not hurt them. By some divine magic the penalty of sin may be warded off, while the sin itself may be cherished. This is said to be the divine plan of salvation; which is equally unethical, whether the divine indulgence be supposed to be based upon the payment of the penalty of sin by another, or whether it be supposed to be based upon the acceptance of a certain doctrine or truth on the part of the sinner. In any case forgiveness concerns only the penalty of sin, not sin itself.

But in the New Testament forgiveness of sin—or, rather, *sins*, for when connected with the notion of forgiveness the word is always in the plural, implying probably that responsibility and guilt are involved only in acts of conscious volition, and in the spiritual state or character resulting from such acts—forgiveness of sins, we say, in the New Testament, means the abolishment of sins by a change in the disposition or will from which they have sprung.\* It is not merely the abrogation of

\* The fact noted above that whenever, in the New Testament, sin is spoken of in connection with the idea of forgiveness, the word is in the *plural number*, could, of course, not be accidental. We have the same thing in the Apostles' Creed: "the forgiveness of *sins*." When sin is spoken of in connection with the atoning work of Christ, then the word is usually singular. Jesus is "the Lamb of God which taketh away the *sin* of the world." So it is also when sin is spoken of as a law or tendency of human nature. "I am carnal, sold under *sin*," says St. Paul. And again: "If what I would not that I do, it is no more I that do it, but *sin* that dwelleth in me." In these passages he could not have used the plural. But as an indwelling tendency which the individual has not given to itself and for which it is not responsible, *sin* is *not guilt*; it is misfortune or misery rather, and appeals to the divine compassion rather than to the divine wrath. While an evil to be overcome, it is nowhere in the New Testament represented as a cause of condemnation. The sinful tendency becomes guilt only when, through the will, it passes into action, and then settles into character. This requires forgiveness. But forgiveness implies repentance, or change of will or disposition—involving the whole moral constitution of the



guilt, or the remission of penalty, that is effected in divine forgiveness, but the moral transformation of the sinner. The words which in the Sacred Scriptures are used to denote the idea of forgiveness—like *nasa*, to take up and carry away; *salach*, to send away; *aphienai*, to send away from—all imply that sin is conceived as being removed from God's sight, as being totally done away or abolished. But sins can be done away in the judgment of God only if they are at the same time actually done away in the will or person of the sinner, that is, if the sinner be converted. The conversion of the sinner, then, is a result of that divine operation which we call forgiveness of sins. But this result cannot be accomplished merely by an omnipotent divine fiat, but only by divine grace acting with and through moral human mediation.

Moral character cannot be divinely created in a person. It could not be so created in the first man; and it cannot be so created in any one now. Every moral being must be the architect of its own character. What is given in creation is merely the potentiality of a moral personality, the actualization of which can only come to pass through the creature's own effort and action, under the sustaining and stimulating energy of the divine will. What is required, then, in order to the realization of a good or godly character, whether in a being newly created, or in a being abnormal and sinful, is not an invasion of its will by an immediate, omnipotent, divine power, but, on the one hand, a stimulation of it by external moral influence, and, on the

person; and this not as a previous condition, but as an effect rather of the divine forgiving grace, of course, an effect that is not involuntary, but voluntary. But while, in the process of conversion we must recognize a voluntary element, the will being stimulated by the apprehension in consciousness of the forgiving grace of God, we must also, on the other hand, recognize a sub-voluntary or sub-conscious element: "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus" working to free us "from the law of sin and death." On the distinction between sin as evil and sin as guilt, see Julius Kaftan, *Das Wesen der Christlichen Religion*, pp. 280–285. We think, however, that Kaftan makes the essence of the forgiveness of sin to consist too exclusively in the non-imputation of guilt. Forgiveness of sin is justification positively as well as negatively.

other hand, a quickening of it by an internal supply of moral energy from the absolute fountain of all moral goodness. And as Christ is the mediator of all divine goodness to men—the One through whom comes the love of the Father and the communion of the Holy Spirit—it follows that the new-creation, or regeneration, of a sinful soul can be brought to pass only by its coming into vital touch with the Spirit of Christ, so that moral power may go out from the latter into the former. This moral power of Christ, however, can gain admittance to the soul of the sinner only through the sinner's own moral activity. But in order to make room for such moral activity, the saving power must address the soul through external agencies and institutions, thereby stimulating without compelling the action of the will, at the same time that it approaches it through its own internal constitution. And this now we believe to be the meaning of the Christian ministry.

The ministry of the gospel is in its essence an agency for bringing the souls of sinners into touch with the Spirit of the glorified Christ. In this agency consists its power to forgive sins. Other power it possesses none. It cannot arbitrarily or magically undo for any one the consequences of his moral acts. It cannot absolve the impenitent. It cannot open the kingdom of heaven to the unbeliever, any more than it can close that kingdom against the believer. Nor can it, by the mere performance of a ceremonial act, or by the formal declaration of a gospel truth, change the moral nature or character of a soul.\*

\* What is called *absolution* in the cultus of the Church is not the pardoning of sin by the minister, but the declaration of God's mercy in Christ to those who repent and believe. It is not a creative, but a declarative act. But of what use is it, then, it may be asked; might it not as well be omitted from the service of the Church? We answer that it can be of use only as it may serve to produce faith and penitence in the minds of the worshipers. And this is its purpose. It was new moral life to the returning prodigal to hear his father pronounce the words of welcome which announced to him the pardon of his past sins; and so it may be new moral life to the sinner to hear from the lips of God's minister the declaration of the divine mercy, although there is in this declaration no magical power at all, and indeed no power whatsoever other than that which always goes along with the ordinary preach-

## 74 *The Minister's Power of Forgiving and Retaining Sins.*

It can only serve as the organ of Christ through which He may exercise His saving power among men. It is in this capacity only, that is, as mediating the spiritual power of Christ, that the ministry can and does forgive sins. Primarily, indeed, this power belongs to the whole Church, the whole body of Christian believers; and every member of the Church should be a centre of Christian influence and power; and from his body should flow streams of living water to quicken and make glad the moral wastes of the earth. But to the Christian ministry, as the *official organs* of the spiritual life, which have been created by the Church, or rather by Christ through the Church, belongs in a special sense the function of mediating the power of Christ to the souls of men in order to their justification, and regeneration, and sanctification.\* They forgive sins when they cause Christ to speak and act through them for the conversion of sinners, according to the purpose and intention of their office. God is in Christ, and Christ is in His minister, reconciling the world unto God; and this is remission of sins in the true Christian sense. We trust that no one will be shocked at our saying that Christ is in His minister. We mean this not in any physical or pantheistic, but in a spiritual and moral, sense. St. Paul was convinced that Christ was speaking in

ing of the gospel. On this subject, as some of the readers of this REVIEW will remember, there has been much blind controversy in time past, that has reflected no credit upon theology and theologians.

\* The ministry is an *office* in the Church, not an *order* or *caste* above the Church. It is not before the Church, but results in consequence of a differentiation, according to time and circumstances, of the functions of the Church. The word *office* is derived either from *ob-facio*, to do something on account of another, or from *opi-facio*, to do work, to render service, and denotes a charge or duty conferred by public authority and performed for public benefit. Offices originate when the functions which belong to a body of people are formally transferred to chosen individuals and by them performed in behalf of the whole body. The ministry, then, is an office derived *immediately* from the Church. But as the Church is the creation of the Spirit and life of Christ, who is its ever-living and governing Head, it follows that ministers are not servants of the Church, but servants of Christ and ambassadors of God for the Church.

himself (2 Cor. 13 : 3); and we are sure that no Christian minister now will accomplish much in the way of making the world better unless he is able to entertain the same conviction.

And what, now, is it *to retain sins*? For the Lord speaks not only of forgiving, but also of retaining sins: He says, "Whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained." This surely does not mean to keep men in sin, or to keep them liable to the penalty of sin, by a wilful determination. It does not mean that a minister, or priest, may arbitrarily bind sins upon men at whom perhaps he may be offended, or that he may prevent their repentance, or that he may hinder God's mercy towards them. To retain sins is simply the negative of forgiving them: it is *not to forgive sins*, in the only sense in which that is possible for men; that is, it is not to discharge towards sinners the office by which repentance, and faith, and justification are conditioned. We retain men's sins when we do not labor that they may be forgiven. This expression, *to retain sins*, is one of those strong expressions which are numerous in Scripture, and in which there seems to be an extension of language beyond the intention of thought. When Jesus says, for instance, that one cannot be His disciple who "hateth not his own father, and mother, and wife, and brothers, and sisters," He surely does not mean to assert that, in order to be His follower, one must entertain toward his kindred so wicked a sentiment as *hatred*. The statement simply means that love to one's kindred must not be stronger than love to Christ, and must not stand in the way of the performance of one's duties in the kingdom of God. So, again, when the prophet says, in the name of Jehovah, "Jacob have I *loved*, Esau have I *hated*," this can mean no more than that the love which was given to Esau was not the same as that which was given to Jacob, though it was commensurate to the character of his personality. Certainly the passage could not mean that Esau was the object of a malicious feeling on the part of Jehovah. And so now, when to the Christian Church and to the Christian ministry there is attributed the power of *retaining sins*, this cannot

mean a grant of official power arbitrarily to bind sins upon men against their will; but it only means that the ministry may fail to exercise its moral and spiritual power in such way as to accomplish the conversion of sinners and the forgiveness of sins. We have a parallel to this passage in the words of Jesus recorded in Luke 6: 9. When the Scribes and the Pharisees watched Him whether He would heal a man's withered hand on the Sabbath, He asked them: "Is it lawful on the Sabbath to do good or to do harm, to save a life or to destroy it?" Here not to do good is to do evil, and not to save life is to destroy life. Doing good and saving life are so much of the essence of human duty, that failure in this is equivalent to the sin of cruelty itself. And so for ministers now to fail to be, in reality, co-workers with God in the destruction of sin and in the salvation of sinners, is in fact equivalent to retaining men's sins.

And this is something that is perfectly plain. It is a simple fact, about which there can be no mystery at all. Sin is not abolished and men are not saved where the gospel is not duly and effectively administered. The world is redeemed. Humanity has Christ in it, and that makes it a redeemed humanity. But men are not saved without the gospel, the ministry, the Church. The redemption of humanity is accomplished once for all in the life, and death, and resurrection of the Christ; but its actual salvation—the justification and sanctification of sinners—is accomplished only where the Word is preached, where the sacraments are administered, and where there is an exhibition of divine life in the persons of actual Christian men and women. In the heathen world, where the gospel is not proclaimed, there is no forgiveness of sins, no justification, no conversion. There is conscience in the heathen world, there is a feeling of guilt there, there is a shining of the light in the darkness there; and this is something good, for it proves that men are not wholly sundered from the source of light; but the darkness *comprehends* not the light, until there comes a messenger to bear witness of it and give it the force of personal authority and life. It is only by such witnessing to the light

that its illuminating and quickening power can be realized in the hearts of men. Those who are excluded from the effect of this witnessing of the light, whether by their own fault, or by the neglect or sin of others, are not saved. Their sins are not remitted, but retained.

We notice here a startling consequence of this Biblical conception of forgiving and retaining sins. We *retain* the sins of those to whom we fail to bring the gospel, when it is in our power to do so. Are we not, then, in some sense responsible for their sins? That is a solemn thought which no Christian, whether minister or common church-member, should lightly dismiss. The heathen to whom we might bring the gospel, and the masses of unevangelized men and women in our own land who are practically as much heathen as the dwellers on "Greenland's icy mountains" or "India's coral strand," are not saved; and they are not saved because we fail to be God's co-workers in their salvation. We pray, "Thy kingdom come;" but we fail to do our part in order to make it come, and so in effect we hinder its coming. We retain men's sins: not that we compel them to sin, or that we positively and purposely hold them in sin, but that we do not discharge towards them the office of remitting sins. It is true that there is doubtless in this matter of bringing the gospel to the nations something also of divine providence. It is not all of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy. There is a plan, a method, an economy, in the progress of the kingdom of God, which has fixed the times and seasons of their visitation. That Africa, for instance, has remained to the present moment the dark continent that it is, has been due not merely to the supineness and negligence of the Church, but also to the deadly influence of its climate. Indeed, when reading of the rapidity with which, in certain sections, the fatal climate of that continent has cut down the successive ranks of missionaries, one cannot, while admiring the heroism of those ever ready to fill up the gaps, suppress the suspicion that, in fixing upon those regions, "some one has blundered." Providence usually points the

direction in which the Church is to move so plainly that there ought to be no mistaking of its intention ; as we believe to be the case now in the Oriental world, as well as in Africa where the opening of the country through commercial enterprise seems to be a challenge especially to our colored brethren to become apostles to their own people. And when once the clock of destiny has struck the hour for the evangelization of any people, and we fail to respond to our duty, then we retain men's sins, and the responsibility will be ours. Here are applicable the Lord's solemn words to the prophet : " When I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die, and thou givest not warning, nor speakest to warn the wicked from his wicked way, to save his life ; the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity ; but his blood will I require at thine hand." Ezek. 3: 18.

And so it is also when, by inconsistent conduct and by immoral lives, men hinder the effect of the gospel. This is possible in the case of ministers of the gospel and in the case of merely professing Christians. Of course, it will be admitted that a minister who does not practice what he preaches, will not accomplish much by his preaching. If his character is not in keeping with the doctrine of the gospel, then he will not commend the gospel much by his official ministrations, and his ministry generally will be fruitless. He will not then serve as an instrument for the remission, or annihilation, of sins among men, but rather as an occasion for their multiplication ; and in the day of judgment he will have to answer for the abuse of his power and the neglect of his opportunities.

But the effect of the gospel may be hindered not only by the life and character of the preacher, but also by the life and example of the congregation. The congregation professes to be a community of Christian people. Its members are looked upon as exemplifying the doctrines and duties of Christianity. But if, now, the life and character of many of them be profane, if they fail to exhibit those virtues which the gospel prescribes and demands, then the effect must be to neutralize the influence of the gospel and to make void its power. The preacher says,

for instance, that men should love their neighbors as themselves. That is the royal law of the gospel, to which those who profess and call themselves Christians are expected to yield obedience. But if, now, while the preacher declares this to be the law of Christianity, there sits in the front pew, clothed in rich apparel, and presenting an air of self-satisfied composure, a millionaire who, by the selfish and cruel exploitation of his neighbors' toil, has coined their blood into money, then there will not be in that Church much of the power that works remission of sins, no matter how musically the absolution may be pronounced. It is in this way that the most earnest efforts of the most conscientious preacher may often be neutralized. The Church and the ministry are not separate and independent orders, so that the activity of the one could remain unaffected by the character of the other. The ministry is the organ of the Church, and its activity and influence must be determined largely by the character of the life that is behind it. This truth is expressed in the well-known proverb, "Like priest, like people," which would be equally true if the terms were reversed. The influence of the gospel in the early times of Christianity was due no less to the saintly lives of the new converts than to the eloquence and zeal of its preachers. When the heathen saw how the Christians loved each other, they beheld in this a proof of the claims of the new religion to be of supernatural origin and power.

It was doubtless because of this intimate connection between the life of the members of the Church and the effect of the ministration of the gospel, that St. Paul begged the Corinthians to give no offence in anything, that the ministry might not be blamed (2 Cor. 6 : 3). Who will say how much of the apparent weakness of the gospel in our day may be due just to this kind of offence in the Church? It is said that the gospel has lost its power; sinners are no longer converted in large numbers; the churches are becoming empty; the masses are estranged; and all this is ascribed sometimes to the hardness of men's hearts, and more often to the progress of infidel science. Something may be due to both of these causes; but a great deal more, we



are convinced, is due to the waning of moral and spiritual power in the Church and ministry itself. We have no patience with that pessimistic theory which supposes that the power of the gospel is not adequate to the moral regeneration of the world, or that in the counsels of God it is not really intended that the world should be converted. We are well aware, of course, that the effect of the gospel depends not merely upon the faith and piety of its ministers, nor merely upon the will of God, but also upon the will of those who hear it. Men are free agents and may refuse to allow themselves to be affected by the power of the gospel. But we also hold, with Tertullian, that the human soul is naturally Christian, that is, predisposed to accept the gospel when this is presented to it in a form corresponding to its needs. God, we are sure, desires that all men should be saved. Only let the heart and the life of the Church be right—let the Christ be lived as well as preached by those who confess Him, and the gospel will continue to be, as it has always been, the power of God unto salvation, both to Jews and Greeks. The ministry may still have power to forgive sins, if it will only use it; but it must be spiritual and moral, not magical, power.

## V.

# THE RELATION OF ERASMUS TO THE REFORMATION OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY REV. J. W. SANTEE, D.D.

AN interesting work, entitled "*Life and Letters of Erasmus*," lectures delivered at Oxford, 1893 and 1894, by *J. A. Froude*, Regius Prof. of Modern History, over 400 pp., and published by Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y., was recently published; a book which it is a pleasure to read, being printed in the very best style of the art, and which throws an immense light on the period immediately preceding, as well as a part of the Reformation itself. The lectures are made up, to a great extent, of extracts from the letters of Erasmus, arranged in order, so as to allow him to speak for himself, and thus give a connected history of his life, showing the position he then occupied and the relation in which he stood to that vast upheaval known as the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. It also shows how the civil and the religious forces were related and the contest for supremacy.

At this time, as long before, the religious world was controlled by the Pope at Rome, with his College of Cardinals, and without question, that form of government, for Society and the Church, was the best for that period known as the Middle Ages. Whatever may be said of Romanism, as it then existed, one thing is certain, the Romish Church saved society from the ruin which threatened, and saved, for future ages, the Scriptures, as well as other important works, which had a great bearing on the ages to come. What other power then in existence could have dealt with barbarian hordes which threatened

to destroy society, than the power exercised by the "man at Rome?" But what was suitable for that age was unsuitable for another. It will be an event when Vol. V. of Dr. Schaff's Church History, covering the period of the "Middle Ages," now in press, will appear, and which is expected to throw much light on what is strangely styled the "Dark Ages."

Erasmus occupies a position at the close of that period somewhat as forerunner, and, with others, assisted, by his writings, to lay down principles, to introduce light which finally resulted in the Reformation. It shows a strange conception of history to affirm, that the revolt was the work of the then actors. The preparation for the upheaval and the causes leading thereto can be traced far back of that period, as is ably done by Ullman in his "Reformers before the Reformation," and to these Erasmus belongs, standing at the close of that preparatory age, and on the threshold of what was to be ushered in. The period previous to the Reformation, that work itself and what followed, is intensely interesting, and without question will call for a revision—a restatement—by and by, so as to make it true history for the ages to come, giving to the actors their proper place and the praise or blame which they deserve. To do that these "Letters" in these lectures are a contribution and are leading the way and throw much light on that period of history. Upheavals like that of the sixteenth century are not the work of a day, but the forces producing them root far back into the past, and are often controlled by the caprices of men, and then turn history into channels causing misery in their train.

Erasmus was born at Rotterdam in 1466 or 1467, and lived in an age fraught with wonderful activity and life. The printing press of the Caxton's was being set up, which was to become the great lever to give light—to give to the world "the Word of life." About this time, also, the restless spirit of Columbus led him to undertake the discovery of unknown lands. The Netherlands, the land where the great battle of Protestantism was fought, and not in Germany, was beginning to rival Italy in commerce, art and learning. What a propitious age for this

newcomer at Rotterdam! Erasmus was a boy of wonderful talent, and when nine years old was placed in a school at Deventer, and when twelve years old, Dr. Schaff says, "he knew Horace and Terrence by heart." In this school, as "school-fellows, were several who were afterwards distinguished, especially Adrian of Utrecht, tutor of Charles V., Cardinal Regent of Spain, and eventually Pope." He had an insatiable thirst for learning, a fondness for books, an extraordinary memory, "was often severely flogged," and of whom Rudolph Agricola said, meeting him at school, "This little fellow will come to something by and by." "He was the most cultivated man of his age, and the admired leader of scholastic Europe from Germany to Italy and Spain, from England to Hungary . . . No man before or since acquired such undisputed sovereignty in the republic of letters." (Schaff.)

It will be interesting to follow Erasmus after the death of both mother and father, and how he was placed into a position preparatory to his future work. How touchingly he relates the way his guardians swindled him out of his property, tricks also repeated at the end of this nineteenth century. "He hated lies, and he never forgave an injury, and a fool to him was as much a criminal as a knave." He and another brother were left to the tender mercies "of a banker, a burgher, and the master of another school at Goude." After the guardians had spent their money, it was determined that these boys should be sent into a monastery, and, in all probability, Erasmus, especially, was entering a school where he was to be trained for future work. Into a monastery his guardians determined that Peter and he should go, and there be cared for. It seems they were placed, as a commencement, in a house of "collationary Fathers," and Erasmus gives his opinion, not mincing his words: "The world is full of these tricksters. When they hear of a lad of promise with wealthy parents they lay traps for him unknown to his relations. In reality they are no better than so many thieves, but they color their arts under the name of piety. They talk to the child himself of the workings of the Holy Spirit, of vo-

cations which parents must not interfere with, of the wiles of the devil: as if the devil was never to be found inside of a monastery" (p. 6). After spending two years both left, and all entreaties for him to take the irrevocable vows were useless, and he became somewhat of a wanderer, when at a time meeting an old friend, who gave a glowing account of the life he led, and, learning from his guardian that his account showed that he was a beggar, however, detesting, as he did, monkery, he finally agreed to "a step further and try the Noviciate." So he did. His thirst for knowledge remained and knew no bounds, but, unfortunately, among the monks intellect was not encouraged. But he was conscious of high talent. He says: "The officials might be good-natured, but they were illiterate blockheads . . . Lads of intellect were troublesome, and to be kept down. The thing wanted was a robust body, and tough fellows with strong stomachs found highest favor." "They were like vultures, stuff them full one day, they could hold out over the next." This kind of monastic life did not suit Erasmus, but, as he said, "the fish was in the net and in the net they meant to keep him." His inclinations were wholly averse to cloister life, and no wonder his health gave way under this unnatural strain. The condition of this unfortunate young man was noticed by the Prior of the convent, and through him he found favor with the Bishop of Cambray, who, by his influence with the Pope, succeeded in obtaining a "dispensation for temporary absence," of which he gladly availed himself. After a long period following, when Erasmus had shown himself hostile to the monks, and became a thorn in their side, the Augustinians tried to fasten the yoke on him as a former monk, but, appealing to the Pope for protection, he was successful, and the Pope granted his favor. Unpleasant as this schooling was to him, it was by no means lost. While here "he found that he might get drunk as often and openly as he pleased, but study was a forbidden indulgence. In a general way he discovered what the inner life of many of these institutions was—that many of them were no better than *lupanaria*." There is no

period in English history when you do not find corruption and irregularity, but in the fifteenth century the degradation had become universal. A spirit like that of Erasmus could not find any comfort inside of a monastery. "There are monasteries," he says, "where there is no discipline and which are worse than brothels; there are others where religion is nothing but ritual, and these are worse than the first, for the Spirit of God is not in them, and they are inflated with self-righteousness" (p. 174). In 1492 he was ordained priest at Utrecht; priest though he now was, his thirst for knowledge remained, and he ardently desired to see more of the world, and he made his way to Paris, "his fame, already acquired," preceding him. Fortunately for him, he had no taste for "vulgar dissipation." What he learned himself he taught to others, and Greek, a favorite language, and at that time a rare acquisition and frowned upon by the authorities, only led ardent students to seek it, and so in the elements of Greek he instructed pupils who came to him. One of the great troubles he had, because of the way of his living, was that of *finance*, but in Paris and elsewhere he found friends who relieved him when necessity pressed. By the solicitations of *Mountjoy* he came into England and was welcomed by distinguished friends, men of learning and renown, "where a growing thirst for knowledge existed, and where the long night of narrow ecclesiasticism was drawing to an end: the shell was bursting: the dawn was drawing on of a new age: the minds of men were demanding something deeper and truer than had satisfied preceding centuries." This was probably in December, 1497.

As you follow him while in England, reading his letters, it seems as if a new era was dawning. There, as elsewhere, society was much disordered. "A glance at the statutes of Henry VII. shows that violence during the long disorders had taken the place of law. The strong had oppressed the weak. With the accession of the Tudors, honest men in all ranks of society seem to have set themselves wisely to work to repair the mischief." "He speaks with astonishment of the conversations

which he heard at the tables of leading laymen, in contrast with the ribaldry of the monastic refectories." A restless spirit, such as he had, could not long be confined to one place, but while here he made the acquaintance of the best scholars of England, saw "Henry, who afterwards became Henry VIII., King of England, then a boy of nine." His desire was to return to Paris, and before his departure he wrote to Colet: "Theology is the mother of sciences, but, nowadays, the good and the wise keep clear of it, and leave the field to the dull and the sordid, who think themselves omniscient. . . . You are trying to bring back the Christianity of the Apostles, and clear away the thorns and briars with which it is overgrown; a noble undertaking." His pounds, which he obtained while in England, and which he had changed into French currency, were seized at the Dover Custom House, and "he was sent to Paris absolutely penniless." He became financially embarrassed, but without brooding over his misfortune, "he put together, with a few weeks' labor, a work which was to be the beginning of his world-wide fame." He called it "*Adagia*," a compilation from his common-place books, a collection of popular sayings, quotations, epigrams, proverbs, anecdotes; anything amusing which came to hand, with his own reflections attached to them." A few specimens: "A Greek proverb says, Androclides is a great man in times of confusion. This applies to theologians who make reputations by setting Christians quarreling, and would rather be notorious by doing harm than live quietly and not be noticed." "Priests (he observes) are said, in Scripture, to devour the sins of the people, and they find sins so hard of digestion, that they must have the best wine to wash them down." This work proved immensely popular, for edition followed edition, and assisted somewhat in replenishing his exchequer. But what was of more account, it gave him a wonderful reputation. With all that, he devoured all the books he could find. "He toiled harder at his Greek than ever, studied the Greek poets and philosophers, studied the Greek Christian fathers, translated Greek plays, translated Plutarch—Lucian—all under

enormous difficulties, for printed books were scarce and MSS. jealously guarded." He was anxious to visit Italy, but want of funds prevented. The plague breaking out, he fled to Orleans, and from there wrote: "I am writing a commentary on Jerome; I am working on Plato; I am comparing Greek MSS.; I am determined to master this Greek, and then to devote myself *arcanis literis*, which I burn to handle." From here he gave this good advice: "Read first the best books on the subject which you have in hand. Why learn what you will have to unlearn? Why overload your mind with too much food, or with poisonous food? The important thing for you, is not how much you know, but the quality of what you know. . . . Never work at night; it dulls the brain and hurts the health. Remember, above all things, that nothing passes away so rapidly as youth." To his mind, the whole scheme of Christianity had been overlaid by those who had been entrusted with it, and in "the exuberance of their power, the clergy seemed to exult in showing contempt of God and man by the licentiousness of their lives and the insolence of their dominion." But it was a dangerous undertaking to attack the then existing vices of the monks and the degraded condition of the monasteries, and yet preparations were going on to do that later on. "He had studied the New Testament—the early fathers. He could point the contrast between past and present. The New Testament to the mass of Christians was an unknown book. He could print and publish the Gospels and Epistles. He could ridicule as he pleased the theology and philosophy which had been sublimated into nonsense. With the New Testament he meant to publish the works of Jerome, because no one of the fathers gave so lively, so vivid a picture of the fourth century, and Jerome, though a monk and a panegyrist of monkdom, had seen clearly that, if it was a road to sanctity, it was a road also to the other place. These were the *arcanae literæ*, which he was burning, as he said, to go to work upon, and through all these years of trial he was preparing for his vast undertaking" (p. 67). He studies "Duns Scotus," and his "Angelical Doctor," and winds up a



long letter to his pupil Grey, thus: "Theology itself I reverence and always have revered. I am speaking merely of the theologastrics of our own time, whose brains are the rottenest, intellects the dullest, doctrines the thorniest, manners the brutallest, life the foulest, speech the spitefulest, hearts the blackest, that I have ever encountered in the world" (p. 70). While in England he made intimate acquaintance with the best, most learned men; men as Colet, Fisher, More and others.

During these years of wandering he had been patiently laboring at his New Testament, and he was now to shine before Europe as a new star. "The Christian religion, as taught and practiced in Western Europe, consisted of the Mass and the Confessional, of elaborate ceremonials, rituals, processions, pilgrimages, prayers to the Virgin and the Saints, with dispensations and indulgences for laws broken or duties left undone." "Erasmus had undertaken to give the book to the whole world, that is the New Testament, to read for itself—the original Greek of the Epistles and Gospels, with a new Latin translation—to wake up the intelligence, to show that the words had a real sense, and were not mere sounds like the dronings of a barrel-organ" (p. 119). The appearance of this book, given to the people, gave them light and led them to assert freedom of conscience and personal rights. No wonder the monks became alarmed and began to storm at Erasmus. It is asserted, at times, that the Romish Church always sought to keep the laity in ignorance as to the Scriptures, but here is a Pope, in the person of Leo X., who approved of the undertaking of Erasmus. What an immense work this was! Dr. Schaff says, "Protestants should never forget the immense debt of gratitude which they owe to the first editor of the Greek Testament, who enabled Luther and Tyndale to make their translations of the word of life from the original, and to lead men to the very fountain of all that is most valuable and permanent in the Reformation." It was universally received, an indication that a reaction was commencing, like leaven, leavening the mass, and that society was preparing for a revolt. Erasmus had learned the condition of

the monasteries, he knew the character of the monks, had made himself acquainted with the theology of the times, and with his keen satire and skilfully wielded scalpel made the attack. When last in England, after spending some time with *More* at Rochester, he conceived what afterward appeared as "*Encomium Morie*," or "Praise of Folly"—this was about the same time his New Testament appeared. Of this we cannot speak, but the object evidently was "to turn the whole existing scheme of theology into ridicule, as little would he spare the theologians themselves, and, once off upon his humor, he poured arrow upon arrow." Dr. Schaff says, "The 'Praise of Folly' passed through seven editions in a few months and through at least twenty-seven editions during his life-time." "Of his 'Colloquies,' a bookseller in Paris printed twenty-four thousand copies."

These works of Erasmus excited not only the attention of the religious orders, but their rage and anger as well, and a new danger now confronted him, that was, being forced back into the religious order to which he first belonged and so brought into the hands and under the power of his bitter enemies, but in this he was equal to the emergency, and he threw himself on the protection of the successor of Julius II., and in a long letter to Lambert Grunnius, he pleaded his case, which brought the response, "He (the Pope) directs that your diploma shall be made out free of costs. I have given three ducats to the clerks and notaries to be quick with their work. You know what these fellows are—you must fling a sop or two to Cerberus. Farewell." Erasmus was now, with his diploma from the Pope, a *free man*.

With all the vast labor he had been doing, he was editing Jerome, which was about to appear, published at Bâle, by Froben, and was to be dedicated to the Pope. How the light began to shine by means of these books! The eyes of the people were gradually opening, they began to see the corruptions, the impositions practiced on them, and also to understand, to some degree, the character of monks and priests. It was now a fight

between learning and ignorance, between light and darkness. It seems that the monasteries were arrayed against light, enemies of Greek, and consequently an attack was made on another important friend of learning in the person of *Reuchlin*, both a Hebrew and Greek scholar, and who introduced the study of these languages into Germany and it is said "that he was the father of modern Bible criticism." Enraged as the monks were at Erasmus, but who had the protection of the Pope and the Emperor, they next attacked Reuchlin and succeeded in having him suspended and imprisoned, and he stood in great danger of going to the stake. Erasmus, now free, stood forth in defense of this man of learning. In 1517, Erasmus wrote to his friend Pirkheimer, "I am busy with a new edition of my New Testament. . . . I am making a fresh book of it. I am delighted that you have stood up for Reuchlin. Poor Reuchlin! What a fight he is having and with what enemies! The Pope himself is afraid to provoke the monks. Alexander VI. used to say, that it was less dangerous to provoke the most powerful prince of Europe than offend the meanest of the mendicant friars. Those wretches in the disguise of poverty are the tyrants of the Christian world," etc. (p. 183). How rapidly these various tendencies were developing and what a revolution they were preparing, which was soon to burst upon the world! Here was the New Testament with the Pope's sanction before the world; Jerome, also, with the Pope's name on the title page. How promising and bright now the intellectual and theological horizon! Was the golden age dawning? In a letter to Fabricio Capito, he says: "We have Leo X. for Pope; a French King, content to make peace for the sake of religion when he had means to continue the war; a Maximilian for Emperor, old and eager for peace; Henry VIII., King of England, also on the side of peace; the Archduke Charles, '*divine cujusdam indolis adolescens*.' Learning is springing up all around out of the soil; languages, physics, mathematics, each department thriving. Even theology is showing signs of improvement. Theology, so far, has been cultivated only by

avowed enemies of knowledge. . . . All looks brighter now. Three languages are publicly taught in the schools. . . . I do not want the popular theology to be abolished. I want it enriched and enlarged from earlier sources. When the theologians know more of Holy Scripture they will find their consequence undiminished, perhaps increased. All promises well, so far as I see" (pp. 186, 187). The lecturer adds, "Reform was in the air—reform or some more dangerous change. What Erasmus wished, what Leo and the cardinals wished, what Warham and More and Colet and Fisher wished in England is tolerably clear. They saw popular Christianity degraded into a superstition; the clergy loose and ignorant; practical religion a blind idolatry; the laity the victims of the mendicant friars, who enslaved them through the confessional; theology a body of dogmatic propositions developed into an unintelligible scholasticism, without practical bearing upon life. Wise men desired to see superstition corrected, the Scriptures made the rule of faith and practice, the friars brought to their bearings and perhaps suppressed, the clergy generally disciplined and educated. They had no wish to touch the church or diminish its splendors. The church was, or might be, a magnificent instrument of human cultivation and might grow with the expansion of knowledge." Would these earnest desires be realized? Were these reformers not working for that? In that view the position of Erasmus becomes clear. But reformations, such as were needed at that period, are not the work of a day. Men, like À Kempis, were prophets of a better age, but society, the intellectual, the moral and the spiritual, had first to be prepared. And it took such a system under which Erasmus was born, lived and wrought to discipline and prepare the way. A stern schoolmaster, indeed!

It will not be necessary to follow Erasmus through the trials which awaited him. His books were submitted to the divines at Louvain to be examined, and as he says, "how near he came to be burnt," but as "admiration swelled on one side, fury was as loud upon the other." "He had deliberately stirred a nest

of hornets, and he smarted under the inevitable sting." However, he writes : " You will soon see a new age among us. The paraphrases are universally praised, and it is something to have written a book of which that can be said." We come now to the year 1517. By this time " the writings of Erasmus were flying over Catholic Christendom, and were devoured by every one who could read. The laity, waking from the ignorance of ages, were opening their eyes to the absurdities and corruptions of irresponsible ecclesiasticism. . . . Some vast change, as Erasmus saw, was immediately imminent. He expected, and he was entitled to expect, by the favor which had been shown to himself, that it would take the shape of an orderly reform, carried out by the heads of the Church themselves and the princes who were then on the various thrones of Europe. Every sign seemed favorable to such an issue. . . . Europe was at last at peace. The princes were all friends. It was an opportunity which might seem created specially by Providence, and to this forfeited chance Goethe alluded sadly when he said, that the intelligent progress of mankind had been thrown back for centuries, when the passions of the multitude were called on to decide questions which ought to have been left to the thinkers." How sadly true that judgment !

Now another and an altogether different actor appears on the stage. The public mind, in the condition it was in, was prepared for almost anything. To a Saxon miner was born a son who was to play an important part in making the coming history. Every reader is acquainted with the early life of Martin Luther. Like Erasmus he made his way to Rome as a faithful and obedient son of the Church, but was much disappointed in not finding what his ardent hopes had expected. He saw Rome through eyes different from those of Erasmus, and after his return he witnessed transactions in the name of religion which he believed to be wrong, and which induced him to take a bold stand in opposition thereto. Such abuses he wished to be reformed, corrected or entirely abolished. On the 19th of November, 1517, he nailed the 95 theses to the

door of the church at Wittenberg, attacking the long-continued abuses. Here now was an open, bold challenge. Would the monks have the courage to grapple with this new enemy? Did not this attempt, this challenge, aim at the correction of abuses then prevalent in the Church, and was it not spoken of and remonstrated against before this? By means of these theses a furious storm was aroused. Was the Church prepared to guide and direct the storm, or to suppress it? In vain did the ecclesiastics rage; the common people, influenced by the revival of learning, through the labors of Erasmus, who gave them the New Testament, already in several editions, also his edition of Jerome, as well as his other writings, showing the monks in their true character, the condition of the clergy, generally, the need for reformation, and with such light as they had the common people naturally took sides with Luther. Was the demand that the attack of Luther on indulgences should be answered an unreasonable one? That the monasteries should be reformed, the condition of the clergy be improved? Erasmus did not know Luther, but he befriended him in so far as to say, that instead of suppressing and silencing him, his writings should be answered. That was his position over the stormy period following. Erasmus was a friend of the Pope, a member of the Romish Church, was anxious to remain and continue such, even in the face of the urgent necessity for reform and correction of abuses. The principles which these theses attacked had been laid bare and exposed by Erasmus before Luther nailed them to the door of the church, and, to the enlightened mind, it was no new attack. Luther openly challenged a refutation. The dream of Erasmus "was a return to early Christianity,—a Christianity of practice, not of opinion, where the Church itself might consent to leave the intellect free to think as it pleased on the inscrutable mysteries. In Luther he saw the same disposition to dogmatic assertion at the opposite pole of thought; an intolerance of denial as dangerous as the churchman's intolerance of affirmation. . . . If Luther's spirit spread, dogma would be met with dogma, each calling

itself the truth: reason could never end disputes which did not originate in reason, but originated in bigotry or a too eager imagination. . . . Declare for Luther he would not. He could not commit himself to a movement which he could not control, and which, for all he could see, might become an unguided insurrection. . . . How well Erasmus judged, two centuries of religious wars were to tell. The wheel has come round at last." (206, 207.) For all the trouble Erasmus was blamed. True, the people had his New Testament, read his "Praise of Folly"—his Jerome, and in proportion as these were read and studied light began to dawn. But nearer and nearer the storm was coming, and he ventures this caution: "I have admonished them (friends of Luther) to be more cautious. I have advised them to keep their pens off popes, and cardinals and bishops, who are their only protectors. I can control my own style. I cannot govern theirs." Surely Erasmus was in earnest as to reform, but shuddered at the very thought of schism. He desired a reform in the Church itself without violence.

The two men, Erasmus and Luther, were of different temperaments. Prof. Nevin, in the *History of English Literature*, p. 188, says: "But the temper of the Renaissance was even more antagonistic to the temper of Luther than that of Rome itself. From the golden dream of a new age, wrought peaceably and purely by the slow process of intelligence, the growth of letters, the development of human virtue, the Reformer of Wittenberg turned away with horror. He had little or no sympathy with the new culture. He despised reason as heartily as any papal dogmatist could despise it. He hated the very thought of toleration or comprehension. He had been driven by a moral and intellectual compulsion, to declare the Roman system a false one; but it was only to replace it by another system of doctrine as elaborate, and proclaiming the same infallibility. To degrade human nature was to attack the very base of the new learning, and his attack on it called the foremost of its leaders into the field. But Erasmus no sooner advanced to

the defence, than Luther declared man to be utterly enslaved by original sin, and incapable through any efforts of his own of discovering truth or arriving at goodness." Such a doctrine not only annihilated the piety and wisdom of the classic past, from which the new learning had drawn its larger views of life and of the world; it trampled to the dust reason itself, the very instrument by which More and Erasmus hoped to regenerate both knowledge and religion." And yet the Church was to be reformed! Various attempts were made to allay the elements composing this storm, but it came sweeping irresistibly along, and Erasmus was compelled to say, "that the whole business was mismanaged." The course taken by Rome was not calculated to settle the unsettled. Instead of answering Luther, who had "not meant to raise such a tempest," a "papal Bull came out, formally approving the indulgences, condemning Luther's action, which, Erasmus says, every right-minded man in Germany approved, ordering his books to be burnt, and commanding his arrest and punishment" (p. 215). Louder and louder the storm raged; Luther ventured to write to Erasmus, and "thought that he should stand as his friend." "Luther was to him merely an honest and perhaps imprudent monk, who had broken out single-handed into a noisy revolt, . . . but the beginners of revolutions are not those who usually bring them to a successful conclusion." He ventures this advice to Luther (p. 234): " . . . but generally, I think courtesy to opponents is more effective than violence. Paul abolished the Jewish law by making it into an allegory; and it might be wiser of you to denounce those who misuse the Pope's authority, than to censure the Pope himself; so also with kings and princes. Old institutions cannot be rooted up in an instant. Quiet argument may do more than wholesale condemnation. Avoid all appearance of sedition. Keep cool. Do not get angry. Do not hate anybody. Do not be excited over the noise which you have made. . . . Christ give you His Spirit for His own glory and the world's good." "He had perceived that theology had grown thorny and frigid; the early



Fathers were neglected, and he had merely tried to recall men to the original fountain of the faith. The signs in the sky were ugly and portended a schism. . . . Were St. Paul Pope, he would part with some of his wealth—yes, and some of his authority, too, if he could restore peace to the Church.” To the Bishop of Rochester, he wrote, among other things: “Still I am sorry that Luther’s books have been published. I tried to prevent it, as I thought they would cause disturbance. He wrote me a very Christian letter. I replied by advising him to avoid saying anything seditious, not to attack the Pope, or fly in a passion with anybody, but to teach the Gospel calmly and coolly.” But the struggle was here, the contest at hand. The eyes of the Elector were turned to Erasmus, and in consultation with him, Erasmus told the Elector, “that Luther had committed two unpardonable crimes—he had touched the Pope on the crown and the monks in the belly.” Even Melancthon went to him for advice. “At Louvain, every one speaks well of Luther. There are differences about his doctrines. I can give no opinion, for I have not yet read his books. He seems to have said some things well. I wish his manner had been as happy as his matter. I have written about him to the Elector of Saxony.” To Louis Marlianus: “Christ I know; Luther I know not. The Roman Church I know, and death will not part me from it till the Church departs from Christ. I abhor sedition. Would that Luther and the Germans abhorred it equally. . . . Even now I would prefer that things should be quietly considered and not embittered by platform railing. I would have the Church purified of evil, lest the good in it suffer by connection with what is indefensible; but, in avoiding the Scylla of Luther, I would have us also avoid Charybdis.” One blow followed the other. The next attack was made on the more sacred order of the Church and the papacy as an “anti-christian usurpation.” In the face of such violence, all efforts at reconciliation were unavailing. No storm can be argued out of the way or arrested in its course by angry declamation, and, accordingly, the Pope was induced “to issue

a Bull, defending the indulgences, condemning Luther's writings, and ordering every priest in Germany to preach against them." A Diet was summoned to meet at Worms in the following January. To George Spalatin, he writes, July 6, 1520: "May Christ direct Luther's actions to God's glory, and confound those who are seeking their own interests. In Luther's enemies, I perceive more of the spirit of this world than of the Spirit of God. I wish Luther himself would be quiet for a while. He injures learning and does himself no good, while morals and manners grow worse and worse." To Gerard, of Minigen, he wrote: ". . . I might have had a bishopric if I would have written against Luther. I refused and stood neutral. But the end, I fear, will be that evangelical truth will be overthrown. We are to be driven, not taught, or taught doctrines alike against Scripture and against reason." How passion was left to play! "The Vatican officials have burnt his (Luther's) own books: he himself replied with burning the Pope's Bull, with a copy of the Decretals, and so defied Leo to do his worst." On January 28, 1521, he wrote to one whom he calls N——: "The world is splitting into factions. . . . My work has been to restore a buried literature and recall divines from their hair-splittings to a knowledge of the New Testament. . . . The matter now in hand can be arranged if the Pope, the princes, and your Highness, will refer it to a small number of learned good men." Again, to Nicholas Berald: ". . . All know that the Church has been tyrannical and corrupt, and many have been busy thinking how it can be reformed. But medicines wrongly applied make the patient worse, and when attempts are made and fail, the symptoms only grow more dangerous. Would that Luther had held his peace, or had gone to work more discreetly. I care nothing for the fate which may overtake him, but I do care for the cause of Christ, and I see churchmen in such a temper, that, if they triumph, farewell to Gospel truth." To Archbishop Warham, August 24: "The condition of things is extremely dangerous. . . . Luther has been sent into the

world by the genius of discord. Every corner of it has been disturbed by him. All admit that the corruptions of the Church required a drastic medicine. . . . Luther's movement was not connected with learning, but it has brought learning into ill-repute, and the lean and barren dogmatists, who used to be my enemies, have now fastened on Luther like the Greeks on Hector." Why did Erasmus keep aloof from Luther? Was it because he saw that he was constructing a "new Protestant theology, which might be as intolerant and dangerous as the Catholic," and therefore would not commit himself to him?

"They call me a Lutheran. Had I but held out a little finger to Luther, Germany would have seen what I could do. But I would rather die ten times over than make a schism. I have acted honestly throughout. Germany knows it now, and I will make all men know it" (304). His advice to the Pope, "For myself I should say, discover the roots of the disease. Clean out those to begin with. Punish no one. Let what has taken place be regarded as a chastisement sent by Providence, and grant a universal amnesty. . . . The magistrates may prevent revolutionary violence. . . . Then let the world know and see that you mean in earnest to reform the abuses which are justly cried out against, and if your Holiness desires to know what the roots are to which I refer, send persons whom you can trust to every part of Latin Christendom. Let them consult the wisest men that they can find in the different countries, and you will soon know" (312). How true these words of Erasmus to a friend. . . . "Can these new gossellers have no patience with men, who cling to doctrines sanctioned by ages and taught by popes and councils and saints, and cannot gulp down the new wine? Suppose them right. Suppose all that they say is true. Let them do Christ's work in Christ's Spirit and then I may try if I can help them." Urgent requests came from every side, for Erasmus to write or do something to allay or settle the trouble. He purposely kept aloof from Luther, he feared "the construction of a new dog-

matic theology, of which the denial of the freedom of the human will was the corner-stone." Forced at last to take up his pen to write, he chose that for his subject, viz., "The freedom of the will." "The book produced no effect further than as it was a public intimation that Erasmus did not agree with Luther." The lecturer sums up Luther's theory thus: "It is the same as that which philosophers like Spinoza and Schopenhauer arrive at by another road. It contradicts superficial experience, as the astronomic explanation of the movements of the stars appears to contradict the evidence of our senses; but is perhaps the most consistent at bottom with the actual facts which we observe" (324). "Now follow replies and counter-replies. Erasmus was anxious for peace, and for this he was strenuously working, corresponding with the Emperor, the Chancellor, the King of France, the German princes, Catholic bishops and reforming divines, working, too, all the time with superhuman industry at his special work of editing the Fathers" (326). In many of his letters he repeats what he had before affirmed—the corruptions and abuses in the Church, the immorality of monasteries and monks and the need for reform, but, with all that, he could not endorse the imprudent course of Luther, attacking not only monks and monasteries, but the Pope himself. He was equally dissatisfied with the vacillating policy of Rome, and the efforts which had been made to bring about peace. While all this was going on, Luther stormed "and scornfully advised Erasmus to remain a spectator in a game for which he lacked courage to play a manly part." Was it not saying, "Come with me, see my zeal for the Lord;" but Erasmus did not see it in that light, and he writes: "The conflict was raging between the muses and their enemies, when up sprang Luther, and the object thenceforward was to entangle the friends of literature in the Lutheran business so as to destroy both them and him together." To Archbishop Warham he writes: "Revolution is in the air. I fear bloodshed, for the roots have gone deep. No one who has not seen Germany can believe in what condition we are. . . . At Rome all is confu-

sion." Again, "Luther amazes me. If the spirit, which is in him, be an evil one, no more fatal monster was ever born. If it be a good spirit, much of the fruit of the gospel is wanting in him. If a mixed one, how can two spirits so strong exist in the same person?"

With all the efforts made to restore order and peace, there was no peace. "Charles summoned a Diet to meet at Augsburg to 'take into consideration the condition of the country.' Both sides had armed and were prepared to fight if the Diet failed." Erasmus could not be present, but he said, "Unless I am far mistaken there will be blood shed in Germany." "While the Diet was still sitting an edict was announced, commanding the restoration of the Catholic services through Germany, the restoration of the church property, and the reversal of all that had been done." Unfortunate edict! Refusal followed. "The Emperor called the Lutherans a sect, and commanded the cities which had adopted the new opinions to conform within six months." "I do not like the look of things. God knows what is coming." "Never was so wild an age as ours: one would think six hundred Furies had broken loose from hell. Laity and clergy are all mad together." From these letters it may be seen how rapidly the clouds, so threatening, were gathering, when finally they broke, and thus he wrote: "See what the world is coming to—rapine, murder, plague, famine, rebellion. No one trying to mend his own life. What can be before us but the deluge?" New sects arose amidst this confusion, and who was able to stem the raging torrent? No edicts could do so, but only added fuel to the flames. Instead of turning attention to correcting abuses the opposition became the more embittered and determined. The storm had to break, and break it did.

In this entire reformation trouble the position of Erasmus is one of nobleness, the earnest desire of elevating society, leading it to intellectual feasts, cultivating learning and science, but above all to a pure faith, an earnest, personal, practical Christianity. He sought this within the bosom of the Church, for

there had been before, and were then, earnest, pious, God-fearing men in that communion, as witness A'Kempis, Tauler and hosts of others. Had the advice of Erasmus which the Pope and secular rulers sought from him been taken, the Reformation, which had to come, would have taken a different course. Had Luther taken his advice, instead of asking him to be "only a spectator;" had he been more moderate, less self-willed; had he been more obedient to authority, less conceited; had he been more cool and deliberate and considered the fearful consequences toward which he was pushing this work, with so little judgment, the Reformation, so rapidly coming, would have taken a different direction. Instead of a Reformation within the bosom of the Church, which Erasmus desired and worked for, the world saw a schism, and our Protestantism became a divided interest. Is it not after all sect and schism since, as history declares? In our divided, distracted condition we try to find comfort by referring to the different phases of religious Christian life, and say to a conscience somewhat uneasy and troubled because of this confusion, "Thou art all fair, my love: there is no spot in thee." The fact that there is so much said about Union in our day; that there is the want of an earnest, strong faith in *the fact*—the article of faith in the creed—the *Holy Catholic Church*; that with many now this article has dwindled into the notion of a mere society, an association like the orders of the day, is strong evidence that something is wanting—something wrong.

But this problem was not only before the mind of Germany, the same spirit of rebellion, opposing authority prevailed in England, as Erasmus once said, "The trouble was felt throughout the entire church." King Henry VIII. stood out nobly for the Church, but when he could no longer have his way, when the Pope and the word of a woman opposed his schemes and stood in his way, it was then he broke with Rome. That carried the best men in the realm to the scaffold and the stake. Erasmus bewailed their fate, and the result was another schism, and now we have what is known as the "Church of England."

How Erasmus labored to prevent all this, how keenly he suffered from his enemies, when he tried to spread light, intelligence and sanctified learning, and then see the storm sweeping over what should have been the fairest order from heaven, and in spirit, looking into the future, seemed to see the years of trouble, blood and carnage following, no wonder this man of peace, this man of God, was weary of life, and he closed a most eventful and weary one, dying quietly at Bâle, July 12, 1536, and was buried in state in the Cathedral. He was a fruitful writer and editor, and, though dead, still speaks.

## VI.

### ON THE ORIGIN OF DEATH.

BY RICHARD C. SCHIEDT.

AT the very outset of this discussion I should like to have it understood that it is not intended to either aid or create any controversy on a subject which has so profoundly stirred the minds of the modern theological world. I am satisfied with stating a few incontrovertible facts brought to light by recent investigations in the sphere of organic evolution, which seem calculated to lead to a better understanding of the dissolution of corporeity commonly called death. The theory of organic evolution is not by any means more than its name implies, viz. : a good working theory by the application of which the origin and succession of life by evolution may now be demonstrated in every branch of Biology, including palæontology, embryology and morphology. However, the theory of the evolutionary process is inseparably connected with some theory of inheritance. Lamarck, who by the publication of his "*Philosophie Zoologique*" in 1801, became the father of the "theory of descent," did not study heredity as a special problem in itself, but he boldly postulated his theory of "direct adaptation," which best fitted his views of evolution. Darwin likewise laid but little stress upon the heredity problem, and only after he had modified his views of the omnipotency of "natural selection," did he begin to feel the absolute necessity for a working hypothesis of inheritance. At the present time heredity is the chief problem of biologists, since the whole accepted theory of the process of evolution has been shaken to its very foundations by a brilliant student of heredity; and no one at present has so



great a following or is exerting such a wide influence as Professor Weissmann, of Freiburg. He approached the heredity problem purely from the embryological side: "How is it that a single cell of the body can contain within itself all the hereditary tendencies of the whole organism?" Lamarck, Darwin, Galton, Spencer, Brooks and others reached the problem chiefly through the study of living adults in past and present time, Weissmann from the side of embryogenesis. The latter's predecessors answered the above question by maintaining that the substance of the germ-cells is derived from the body of the new individual, granules from all the different cells of the body aggregating in the generative glands; Weissmann demonstrated that it is directly derived from the germ-cell. According to his theory of the "continuity of the germ-plasm," the germ-cells of the parents must give rise to "somatic" cells, forming the body of the offspring, and to "germ" cells. Furthermore, no special or local life-changes in the body can in any way reach or influence the germ-cells in such a manner as to be inherited.\* From this it at once becomes evident how the repetition-phenomena in the offspring must be accounted for, while the non-repetitive phenomena or variations remain practically unexplained, phenomena which in palæontology furnish the most powerful proofs for the theory of evolution. However, it does not fall within the scope of this paper to enter upon a criticism of the shortcomings of Weissmann's views; suffice it to say that the discussion of our theme is closely related to the great biologist's embryogenetic factor in evolution. According to his theory the individuals are mere offshoots from the continuous germ-plasm stem, which in itself must, in a certain sense, be immortal; *i. e.*, his claim is not that the germ-plasm must, under any circumstances, exist forever, but it will exist as long as the proper physical conditions exist; in other words, that death is not inherent in life.

\* "In each development a portion of the specific germ-plasma which the parental ovum contains is not used up in the formation of the offspring, but is reserved unchanged to form the germ-cells of the following generation."

Weissmann's brilliant exposition of heredity is, however, not entirely new; it is the culmination of a train of thought which was broached long ago by Ehrenberg, in his treatises on Protozoan life. These firstlings among the inhabitants of our globe are physiologically complete in themselves, and have, at least, very great, if not unlimited, powers of self-recuperation. They leave off where higher animal life begins, that is to say, in a unicellular state. They do not form bodies. They resemble, therefore, the individual reproduction-cells of multicellular beings, with this difference, however, that their reproduction is, in the majority, simple cell-division into two, each part becoming a new independent individual. The mother Protozoan does not die during this process, for there is no corpse, but the whole animal, as such, has completely disappeared, and in its place we find two individuals, which are not parent and offspring, but rather twins. They are both young animals, for they increase in size, and when fully grown divide again into two new young ones, and so on indefinitely; they may, therefore, be said to be potentially immortal, in the sense as above defined. Weissmann was the first one to develop this knowledge into a scientific theory. He compared the life-cycle of a Protozoan to the circulation of water which evaporates, gathers in clouds and falls to the earth, only to evaporate again. There is no inherent cause in the physical and chemical properties of water which will bring this cycle to an end. As long as the present physical conditions exist the cycle must continue. So it is with the life-cycle of a Protozoan, *i. e.*, division, growth by assimilation, division again—and so on without end. In Weissmann's own words: "Natural death occurs only among multicellular organisms; the single-celled forms escape it. There is no end to their development which can be likened to death, nor is the rise of the new individuals associated with the death of the old. In the division the two portions are equal; neither is the older or the younger. Thus there arises an unending series of individuals, each as old as the species itself, each with the power of living on indefinitely; ever dividing,

but never dying." Ray Lankester puts the matter tersely when he says: "It results from the constitution of the protozoan body as a single cell, and its method of multiplication by fission, that death has no place as a natural recurrent phenomenon among these organisms." This does not mean, of course, that they are exempt from any violent fate, *e. g.*, starvation, or disease, or being crushed. These are, however, rather accidental than natural deaths. Besides, in relation to environment, their simplicity gives them a peculiar power of avoiding impending destiny. The habit of forming protective cysts is very general, and thus enwrapped, they can, like the ova and a few of the adults of some higher animals, endure desiccation with successful patience, rewarded by a rejuvenescence when the rain revisits the pools. But the doctrine of the immortality of the Protozoa refers to a defiance of natural, not violent, death.

Since Weissmann made this startling assertion that death is not an attribute of all living organisms, much opposing evidence has been brought forward. Maupas, of Algiers, made a series of experiments with a number of species of infusoria, observing, under the proper conditions of temperature, moisture and food, that after the production of from fifty to one hundred generations by division, the animals began to decline, pathological changes appeared, the cilia were absent and the nuclei disintegrated. When this degeneration, which Maupas calls senile degeneration, had reached its maximum, nutrition became impossible and death followed. When he, however, allowed the mingling of a number from different parentage, conjugation took place, *i. e.*, two individuals united to form one new one, and this restored their full vigor, while conjugation of individuals from the same stock did not produce the same result. Decline, therefore, can only be repaired by conjugation of individuals from different parentage. Weissmann, however, asserts likewise that conjugation is a necessary condition of the animal's life, just as fertilization is a necessary condition for the survival of an ovum, and if conjugation is denied, the death in consequence

is accidental and not natural; further, that the fact that conjugation is necessary does not imply that protoplasm is not potentially immortal. However, conjugation has not been shown to occur in many protozoa, and the only conclusion at present justifiable, is that protozoa, not too highly differentiated, living in natural conditions where conjugation is possible, have a freedom from natural death.

Accepting this general conclusion, we pass on to ask the question: How, then, did the death of the higher and multicellular organisms arise, and what does it involve?

There is now no longer any doubt that the metazoa, or multicellular animals, have at some time in the remote past been evolved from such potentially immortal protozoa. The tendency to form colonies and to live together in social communities is strongly inherent in the lowest forms of life; to this is evidently due the rise of the multicellular body which is essentially a complex colony of cells, in which there is more or less division of labor, and consequently a restriction of functions. A colony of choanoflagellata sinks by virtue of the law of gravity to the bottom of the sea, the lowest cells gradually lose all their functions but one, viz., that of resisting great pressure, thus becoming in the course of time, merely a mechanical support of the colony; the flagellata, constituting the periphery, perform the function of defense and of acquiring nutriment, the central individuals gradually retain but one function, namely, that of digesting the food furnished them by the outer members of the cormus. Such polymorphic conditions actually exist among the lowest metazoan beings. Like Maupas's isolated family of infusorians, the cells of the body do not conjugate with one another, and in spite of their continued division, life eventually ceases. Death, then, is the price paid for the body, the penalty which its attainment and possession sooner or later incur. A little further reflection, however, will show that in the majority of cases the organism does not wholly die. In some of the cells a concentration of function seems to have been retained, they escape the fate of the

body as reproductive elements, in reality, as protozoa once more. Certain of the lower forms, such as volvox, suggest this manner of evolution of the metazoa from the protozoa. Volvox is a hollow sphere of cells, which is provided with a couple of long flagella, by means of which the colony swims. Some of these cells pass to the centre of the sphere, and then undergo certain changes in form, becoming, in reality, the reproductive cells of the colony. When they are ripe the colony withers up and dies. Thus we find in volvox the first approach to a differentiation into Weissmann's germ and somatic cells. The same is true of all metazoa; they start their individual lives from an ovum, which is a single cell, comparable to a protozoan. After fertilization this cell or ovum undergoes the process of segmentation, *i. e.*, it divides into a multiple of two cells, giving rise to a very large number which differentiate in order to form tissues and organs of the embryo, the germ cells being finally deposited as it were in the generative glands of the animal, while the somatic cells form all other organs. During early youth the germ cells remain dormant; when, however, adult life is reached they develop, and under proper conditions, such as fertilization, etc., each one is capable of producing a new organism with germ-cells and body, while the body itself grows old and dies. In other words, what is new in the multicellular organism, namely, the "body," does indeed die, but the reproductive elements, which correspond to the protozoa, live on. "The body or soma," Weissmann says, "thus appears to a certain extent as a subsidiary appendage of the true bearers of the life—the reproductive cells." Ray Lankester sums up the whole process, when he expresses it thus: "Among the multicellular animals, certain cells are separated from the rest of the constituent units of the body as egg-cells and sperm-cells; these conjugate and continue to live, whilst the remaining cells, the mere carriers, as it were, of the immortal reproductive cells, die and disintegrate. The bodies of the higher animals which die may, from this point of view, be regarded as something temporary and non-essential, destined merely to carry for a time, to nurse and to nourish the more

important and deathless fission-products of the multicellular egg." Geddes beautifully remarks, "The bodies are but the torches which burn out, while the living flame has passed throughout the organic series unextinguished. The bodies are the leaves which fall in dying from the continuously growing branch. Thus, although death take inexorable grasp of the individual, the continuance of the life is still in a deep sense unaffected; the reproductive elements have already claimed their protozoan immortality—are already recreating a new body; so in the simplest physical as in the highest psychic life, we may say that love is stronger than death." Death, then, is something secondary; an adaptation acquired through natural selection during the evolution of the metazoa from the protozoa. In summing up the whole matter under consideration, I would say that two facts are established, viz.: on the one hand, the exemption from physical death of those protozoa which undergo conjugation; and, on the other hand, the beginning of death through the process of reproduction, the very blossoming of life in reproduction fated with the prophecy of death. Hence, it is but logical to throw the whole burden of the discussion upon the inquiry into the rise and significance of sexuality in its relation to death.

Already among the Protozoa we observe that conjugation preferably takes place between two individuals of different size, the one being comparatively large and in a state of rest, the other smaller and more active. The common Infusorian *Vorticella*, which is found in every water throughout this mundane sphere, reproduces itself by fission; one of the two new individuals swims freely about in the water for a time, and finally unites with a larger individual of different parentage, which is generally fastened by means of a stalk to some organic surface. A still more differentiated state of being is represented by the very interesting groups of certain flagellate Protozoan colonies, *e. g.*, *Eudorina*, *Pandorina* and *Volvox*, the last named being sometimes classified among the Metazoa. Here an alternation of generation occurs which is the first prophecy, as we might

say, of Metazoan life. A *Pandorina* may incompletely divide itself into a number of individuals which together form a colony, each member of the colony again dividing into a number of individuals of like size, every one of which becomes a free swimming *Pandorina*, which propagates itself by first uniting with another individual of different parentage entering upon a state of rest preparatory to the cycle of fission. In *Endorina* and *Volvox* the same process is observed, with this difference, however, that here, for the first time, a division into colonies of individuals of different size and habit arises, namely, into macrospores or large resting Protozoa and into microspores or small active Protozoa; the former are frequently called ovoid gametæ, the latter spermoid gametæ. Besides in *Volvox* a division of labor occurs, inasmuch as only certain individuals are reproductive, others seemingly carrying on the function of nutrition for the whole colony. Here death occurs for the first time in the animal world, namely, the death of the purely nutritive individuals. He who wants to see may learn his first lesson as to the significance of death and immortality in the physical sense; immortality in these lowest forms seems to be bound up with altruism, conjugation meaning no more nor less than mutual attraction or love; love as the guarantee of life in the very lowest organisms proves the tendency of organic evolution. It is from this point of view alone that we can explain the necessity of sexual differentiation. Sexuality has been the means through which morphological complexes or organisms of all sorts, animal and vegetable, have been built up. For mere purposes of reproduction sexuality was certainly not necessary. It becomes more specialized with the progress of structural complication of organisms; but external influences may lead to the suppression of fully developed sexuality. It has been proved, over and over again, that if a species is artificially cared for, *i. e.*, cultivated, as in the case of plants, it may be indefinitely reproduced by means other than those of sexuality. I need only cite the Banana, which has been asexually propagated by cuttings for centuries. The signifi-

cant and persistent vigor, through twenty centuries, of *Dra-cæna* or Dragon's-blood tree is also of interest in this connection, and would show that plant life as such is potentially immortal under any condition, whether propagated by conjugation or not. The persistent growth of the asexual generations of tree ferns in the present age, and of the gigantic *Lepidodendrons* and *Equisetums* of the carboniferous period, shows that conditions of life have much to do in maintaining the vigor of such asexual generations. Neither has it been proved that death ever occurred in the generations of the yeast plant and of the *Bacteria* on account of the absence of the process of conjugation. Nay, both conjugation and sexuality as functions seem to demonstrate the chief property of life, namely, infinite variation and complexity, reflecting the eternal attributes and purposes of its divine Author. Passing then from the unconditionally physically immortal in the vegetable kingdom, to the conditionally immortal in the protozoan animal sphere, and thence to the universal occurrence of death in the metazoan world, I would maintain that while reproduction is fraught with death to the corporeal, the increasing complexity of its apparatus expressed in the rise and relation of the sexes is not in the least necessitated by reproduction as such. The divine immanence of life is the everlasting force pressing for reproduction, and the eternal love of the Father of all creation finds its expression in a multiplicity of means and methods, to be sacrificed on the altar of life, for the very purpose of developing the spirit of self-surrender. Therefore animals do not reproduce because they have to die, but they die because they have to reproduce, or, as Goette has it: "It is not death that makes reproduction necessary, but reproduction has death as its inevitable consequence." Illustrations of this are numerous in the vegetable as well as in the animal world. The mature female forms of the orthonectids, the very lowest of the metazoan animals, produce numerous germ cells and terminate their individual lives by bursting. The germs are liberated; the mother animal has been sacrificed in reproduc-



tion. In some species of the polygordius worm the mature females break up and die in liberating their ova, while the young of certain threadworms live at the expense of the mother, until she is reduced to a mere husk. Kræpelin reports that the ciliated embryo of certain fresh-water Polyzoa leaves the maternal body-cavity through a prolapsus uteri of the sacrificed mother. It is a matter of common knowledge how many insects die a few hours after the production of ova. The exhaustion is fatal for both male and female; as a matter of fact the former are more liable to exhaustion than the latter. Geddes reports that the males of some spiders normally die after fertilizing the female, a fact perhaps helping to throw light upon the sacrifice of others to their mates. The close association of love and death in the common mayflies is another familiar phenomenon. Within a few hours we witness the emergence into winged liberty, the love dance and the process of fertilization, the deposition of eggs and the death of both parents. In higher animals reproductive sacrifice may be less often fatal, yet how often is death, even in human life, the direct nemesis of love!

The gradual evolution of sexuality and its perfection seems to go hand in hand with the psychic development of the individual. From a sexual fragmentation and consequent multiplication, the advance to larger and smaller, or female and male elements was a gradual one, with or without hermaphroditism. Then came hermaphroditism with large female and small male germs, then maleness and femaleness, as characterizing distinct individuals of the same species. Finally, protective processes were developed, accompanied by ovulation, followed by parental care, such as incubation, nidification, gestation and at last, in the highest forms, lactation was developed. *Pari passu* with this development we find a corresponding increase in the relation of the two elements. In the lowest forms when two exhausted cells flow together physical attraction is pre-eminent, it is simply a "satisfaction of protoplasmic hunger;" later on the union becomes physiological, the spermatozoa are attracted

by certain acids which the ova excrete ; gradually, however, the sexes associate in pairs, first noticed among insects. Some psychic sexual attraction leads to the association of two individuals for a certain length of time, bringing about a co-operation in their work, *e. g.*, male and female of a certain lamellicorn beetle inhabit the same cavity, and the virtuous matron is said greatly to resent the intrusion of another male. In other cases sexes are attracted through the power of sound, from the shrill chirping of grasshoppers to the touching song of the nightingale, likewise the complex play of colors in the garments of birds, the exhibition of strength and courage of male mammals in battle excite the inclination of the female. Not only is there often partnership, co-operation, and evident affection beyond the limits of the breeding periods among birds and mammals, but there are abundant illustrations of a high standard of morality, of all the familiar sexual crimes of mankind and of every shade of flirtation, courtship, jealousy and the like. (Compare Büchner's "*Liebe und Liebesleben in der Thierwelt.*") Mantegazza, in his work on "*The Physiology of Love,*" claims that love is the universal dynamic, that the whole nature is one hymn of love. This often-repeated utterance seems to have more than poetic significance, although in actual life such love is rarely found in pure form. Yet do not the most splendid achievements in human history, as well as the resplendent beauty of animated nature, bear a significant relation to the passion of love?

All this would indicate that the potentially immortal germ cells have a much profounder significance than is generally granted them. Being in reality the ancestors or authors of the somatic cells or "body," they seem to control the highest interests of physical existence, they are, to say the least, in close contact with our psychic life, and their continuance furnishes an analogy to the manner in which, after the dissolution of human corporeity, the soul may reconstruct "somatic cells" adapted to its new environment.

But to return to Weissmann's views: If death is not some-

thing which is inherent in living matter, but which is acquired, how is it that the length of life differs so widely in different species? Weissmann answers that the age which an animal may attain has been determined by natural selection, and also that the power of reproduction and length of life are correlated, as shown in the following examples from Gardiner: Birds generally live to a very great age. A partridge lives from twenty to twenty-five years. A pair of eider ducks were observed nesting in the same place for twenty years, and it is believed that these birds often reach the age of a hundred. Birds of prey become much older, for they outlive more than one generation of men. A white-headed vulture was kept in a zoological garden in Germany for one hundred and eighteen years, and many examples of eagles and falcons reaching an age of over a hundred years have been recorded. Humboldt mentions a parrot from the Orinoco, of which the Indians told that none could understand it, for it spoke the language of an extinct race.

Now let us compare the length of life and reproductive powers of the partridge and an eagle and find the reason why one should live longer than the other. The partridge lives a little more than twenty years, and each year lays about twenty eggs. Hence a pair of partridges may produce about four hundred eggs in their life-time. This is at the rate of two thousand in a hundred years. Yet since the number of partridges in the forest does not increase, three hundred and ninety-eight of these eggs or young must be destroyed in twenty years while but two survive to take the place of their parents. The eggs and young are destroyed by beasts and birds of prey. If these enemies increased very much the partridge would become extinct unless it laid more eggs. It would appear, then, that the partridge lays just eggs enough to ensure the continuance of its race, and this being accomplished death removes it.

The eagle, on the other hand, is one of the most powerful birds, and builds its nest on such inaccessible cliffs that eggs and young are comparatively safe from marauding animals. Many, however, are destroyed by late frosts and snows. The

duration of the life of an eagle is about sixty years, of which ten years belong to immaturity, so that fifty years remain for reproduction. If the eagle lays but two eggs a year a pair of eagles would produce one hundred during their life-time. In a hundred years two hundred eggs against the partridge's two thousand; therefore the partridge produces ten times as many young as the eagle, and we do not go wrong in saying that the partridge has ten times as many enemies as the eagle. If the life of either were shortened the race would die out, unless the power of reproduction were increased or the struggle for existence became less severe.

The elephant may live for a hundred or perhaps a hundred and fifty years, and reaches maturity when about thirty. A pair produce but a single calf about every ten years, hence during their life-time a pair of elephants contribute but ten or a dozen young to the race. Among the lower animals reproduction is frequent and enormous on account of the great multitude of enemies which constantly destroy the offspring.

Man hardly offers definite scientific data to present accurate calculations as to the causes of the length of his age. One thing we are sure of, and that is the fact that thousands hasten to an early grave on account of a wanton premature destruction of their germ cells. If nowhere else, here surely a striking proof is offered for the arguments presented on the origin of death.

## VII.

### DR. TITZEL ON DEATH AND THE RESURRECTION.

BY CALVIN S. GERHARD, D.D.

IN the October number of this REVIEW there appeared from the pen of one of the editors, the Rev. Dr. John M. Titzel, a lengthy notice of my book, "Death and the Resurrection." His article is in some respects a peculiar one. Differing entirely from the position taken by the REVIEW in its book notices in the July number, he writes not as an editor, but as an individual contributor, and thus himself personally assumes all responsibility for the views which he sets forth. His one and only aim seems to be to completely demolish the little volume which he attacks. Like a schoolmaster who reviews his pupil's essay, he begins with the grammar and the rhetoric, and actually finds several imperfect sentences. He deserves great credit for his persistent efforts in this direction. So keen is his scent and so difficult his undertaking that even the following innocent-looking clauses fall under the ban of his condemnation: "These great truths, under the influence of which, some to a greater degree than others, the sacred writers lived and wrote," and, "the antidote at once, both for atheism and materialism, as well as for agnosticism and pantheism."

That all may see by way of contrast how faultlessly Dr. Titzel's sentences are constructed, I now call attention to the following specimens: "that the views of these theologians logically imply the same as his own, by maintaining that transformation and death are essentially the same," p. 513; "that a body . . . should be, in a few hours, so developed as to enable its possessor the full enjoyment of conscious existence," p. 518; "The fact that the resurrection is always referred to as something future is opposed to such view. To say that it is thus spoken

of because only at the last day it will be fully consummated, is virtually to charge the sacred writers with using words without any proper discrimination as to their meaning. Furthermore, the manner in which the intermediate state is spoken of in Scripture cannot be reconciled with it," p. 514. A question in grammar: What is the antecedent of the pronoun "it" with which the last sentence closes?

In the next place my critic accuses me of looseness of reasoning and unguardedness of expression because I say on page 21 that God has so constituted man that the proper interpretation of the phenomena of nature must always be learned, not from the book of revelation, but from the book of nature. "Now we admit," he continues, "that God has not seen proper to reveal to men what they can learn without revelation; but we do not admit that there is any proof, or any reason to believe that man is so constituted that God could not make such revelation if He saw proper so to do, and we believe that the sacred writers have in many cases more correctly interpreted the phenomena of nature through inspiration of the Holy Ghost than any scientists have done by deductions from their experiments." Here there is close reasoning and guardedness of expression! It proceeds as follows: God has not seen proper to reveal to men what they can learn without revelation and yet (in many cases) He has done so!! What God *could* do I do not profess to know or to say, but surely all must admit that He has so constituted man that empirical knowledge is acquired from nature through the activity of the natural understanding, while spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

Again, I am criticised for saying that Christ put Himself *en rapport* with His age and people, and that He stood within the bosom of the theological thinking of His age. "If this is so," my censor exclaims, "how came the people to revile Him and to condemn and crucify Him?" Let me ask another question. Why are the clearest exponents of the best and the most profound thought of every age similarly dealt with? Why were the Reformers persecuted? Why was Socrates condemned to drink

the fatal hemlock? Was he not the product of that which was deepest and truest in Greek life? Was it not his environment as much as his genius that made him what he was? And so, was not Jesus Christ the offspring of David, the Lion of the tribe of Judah and the outgrowth of Israel? Surely He did not stand within the bosom of Greek, or Roman, or Mediæval, or modern thought, but within the bosom of the thinking of His own age and people, at the same time that through His unique personality He had a more profound insight into the truth than any one else. As He had two natures, the one human and the other divine, so also He stood in a double environment. As the Word made flesh, He, of course, transcended all ages and all peoples for He was not only the Son of man, but also the Son of God, and thus one with the Father.

“Man cannot by searching find out God, or the relation which He sustains to the universe. Natural laws and phenomena reveal Him not.” “Creation and providence reveal His presence in upholding the world and in constantly unfolding His thoughts by evolving higher forms of existence and of life through the operation of natural laws which are the continuous expression of His will.” These two statements, it is claimed, directly contradict each other. Although torn out of their connection, I ask the candid reader whether they really contradict one another even when used as my critic employs them. What does the first statement mean but this? Without revelation man cannot know God. Naturalists, like Darwin and Huxley, do not find Him by studying natural laws and phenomena. And what does the second mean except this? The believer sees God in His works. Creation and providence reveal His presence to faith; to those who believe that He is, and to them only. The expression cannot possibly mean anything else, since it is only believers that accept the doctrine of creation and providence.

But my critic's wisdom in regard to my inconsistencies reaches its climax when he tells us that in the following sentences there is a reference to burial and the body when the

word sheol is used: "If mischief befall him in the way in which ye go, then shall ye bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to sheol," and, "Let not his hoar head go down to sheol in peace." This is quibbling of the worst sort, since to every unprejudiced mind it is evident that Jacob's language clearly means simply this: If you allow harm to come to Benjamin you shall bring me down to death. No one can deny that the expression is figurative, and that the figure stands, not for the patriarch's body, but for his person. His concern was not for his hair, but for himself. He felt that if mischief befell Benjamin he would die of grief—in sorrow he would go down to sheol, the place of departed spirits, into which his earthly body could not enter.

In regard to the views set forth in my book it is claimed, in the first place, that the Scripture passages which I quote in reference to man's natural mortality "give no real support whatever to the doctrine under consideration." The first of these is Gen 3: 19, and the second 1 Cor. 15: 47-50. Of these quotations Meyer, in his commentry on 1 Corinthians *in loco* says: "Since the body of Adam is thus characterized as a psychical (animal) body, as verse 45, and animal organism involves mortality (verse 44), it is clear that Paul treats of *Adam not as created exempt from death*, in strict accordance with Gen. 2: 7 and 3: 19. Nor does this militate against his teaching that death came into the world through sin, Rom. 5: 12. For had our first parents not sinned they would have remained in Paradise, and would, by the use of the *Tree of Life*, which God had not forbidden them (Gen. 2: 16, 17), *have become immortal* (Gen. 3: 22). But they were driven out of Paradise ere yet they had tasted of this tree (Gen. 3: 22), and so, according to the record in Genesis also, "Death came into the world by sin."

This is precisely what I say on page 12, viz.: "According to the account in Genesis, man was created mortal, but was capable of attaining unto immortality. To have partaken of the tree of life would have caused him to live forever. By eating of the forbidden fruit he lost the privilege of eating of the tree



of life—that is, sin interrupted his communion with God and prevented him from appropriating the divine life, which is the only life that abides forever. In the day that he ate of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil he died—forfeited his communion with God. But as his act of disobedience did not destroy his natural life, so neither would obedience and righteousness have removed the necessity of physical dissolution.” “All mankind (page 56) are familiar with physical death, not as it would have occurred in the absence of sin, but as it takes place with sin in the world as a tremendous power of evil and destruction. ‘No doubt,’ says Alexander McClaren, ‘*cessation of physical life is necessarily involved in the fact of possessing it*, but the complex whole, made up of pains and terrors, which we know by the name of Death, is the result of sin.’” All this is in full accord with St. Paul’s emphatic unequivocal declaration: “Flesh and blood *cannot* inherit the kingdom of God” (1 Cor. 15: 47). Flesh and blood—that is, the present organism of the body, calculated for the wants of the animal soul, must pass away. This organism is mortal and always has been.

In a review of my book in the *New York Independent* of October 3d, 1895, Dr. Thomas G. Apple says: “The sting of death is sin; but the question remains whether what is essential in physical death, viz., the separation of the life principle from the material body, or the matter which enters into the body, would not have taken place even if man had not sinned. This contention, which science seems to require, the author maintains, *and without any necessary conflict with revelation* . . . Even those who maintain that physical death was caused by sin allow that some change would have been necessary, some translation from the natural into the spiritual order; but this is only substituting another word for death while it does not remove the contradiction between the original design of the Creator, as it appears in the light of science, and the current teaching of theology.”

A great deal more could easily be said and quoted in defense of my position on the point before us, but I will content myself with one additional remark. My critic makes merry over the

fact that I say: "The worm must pass away—must die—in order that the butterfly may be formed and live." "Every one," he exclaims, "acquainted with natural history, knows that the butterfly is only a fully developed and transformed caterpillar. The worm does not die that the butterfly may be formed and live. On the contrary, if the worm be injured so that it dies and its dissolution takes place, there will be no butterfly. By such reasoning as we have in the passage just given, anything may be proved, as all distinctions are ignored in thus using words and confounding their meaning." In making use of this extravagant language Dr. Titzel seems to forget entirely that One greater than either of us said: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and *die*, it abideth by itself alone; but if it *die*, it beareth much fruit" (John 12: 24). St. Paul also said: "Thou foolish one, that which thou thyself sowest is not quickened, except it *die*" (1 Cor. 15: 36). It is from these Masters that I have taken lessons. The same analogy which they use in reference to a seed I employ in reference to a caterpillar. The seed dies in precisely the same sense when it grows into a stalk as the caterpillar does when it passes into a butterfly. "If the" seed "be injured so that it dies and its dissolution takes place, there will be no" stalk. See pages 53 and 139 for a fuller exposition of the analogy of the seed as used by our Lord and by St. Paul.

"We believe," says my reviewer, "that death separates soul and body; that after the separation, the soul continues its conscious existence in a state of happiness as regards the righteous, and of misery as regards the unrighteous, and that at the resurrection, which will take place when Christ comes again, soul and body will be reunited and completely perfected." Of this view of the resurrection it has been well said: Men still assert in words a literal resurrection of the body, but none of us believe it. Our hymns, our prayers, our epitaphs, and too often our sermons, imply that the dust of our bodies shall be reanimated in some far-off future and joined to the soul. At the same time we know that science declares it to be impossible;

our reason revolts from it; it is sustained by no analogy; it is an outworn and nearly discarded opinion. Teach a thinking man chemistry and he must be skeptical in regard to such a view; mathematics even is against it. It is an unhappy thing when one revelation of God is set in apparent opposition to another. When such is the case, the higher revelation commonly yields before the lower one; we side with the lower because it is nearer. The wiser way is to harmonize them; for God cannot be inconsistent with Himself.

Dr. Titzel's defence of this worn-out theory breaks down at every point. First, he claims that "the resurrection (p. 514) is always referred to as something future." But when Martha said of her brother Lazarus, "I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day," Jesus plainly showed by His answer that the primary truth to be believed, in reference to the resurrection, was, that in Him it was a present reality. So, also, in His reply to the Sadducees, He emphasized the same fact when He said, "*That the dead are raised even Moses showed. . . . for all live unto God.*" St. Paul also said: "We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved we *have* a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens."

The word resurrection, like the word death, is not always used in the same sense in the Scriptures. To St. Paul it evidently meant three things: first, it signified spiritual quickening, life-union with Jesus Christ on earth (Col. 3: 1; Rom. 6: 5; Eph. 2: 6); secondly, it meant to depart and be with Christ, because to die was not to be unclothed, but to be clothed upon, with our house from heaven (2 Cor. 5: 2); thirdly, to be glorified through the final manifestation of Jesus Christ in His second advent was the completion of the resurrection, because it involved emergence from the state of the dead into perfected spiritual and corporeal life.

My critic claims that because the departed are referred to as having fallen asleep through death, and as being awakened through the resurrection, my view cannot be reconciled with

the manner in which the intermediate state is spoken of in Scripture. But since he admits that "the soul continues its conscious existence" after natural decease has taken place, what he says of sleep is just as applicable to his view as to mine. Jesus and His Apostles, by their use of the word sleep, teach us that death is not what it seems to be—that it is not extinction, but that although the eyes are closed and the heart has stopped beating, life still exists, though we may not know how, or where, and that it is going forward, in all its grand and beautiful functions, and shall in the end be completely manifested in the marvelous awakening of the last day.

What else the Sadducees might have believed if they had admitted that the soul exists consciously after death I cannot tell, although I do know that the Greeks believed in the immortality of the soul, but denied the resurrection. What "the Sadducees would undoubtedly have believed," is not the point, but, what does the Saviour's reply to their question teach us? "The central idea of Christ's answer," says Theodore T. Munger, "is, that because the patriarchs are alive, they have been raised up. Their resurrection is the pivot upon which their present life turns. If Christ's words do not mean this, we must despair of language as a vehicle of thought."

"As for the claim (page 515) that in man body and spirit (mind, he means) are so related that they cannot be separated without wholly destroying conscious existence, there is really no conclusive evidence that such is the case. It is merely an assumption." In the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge, Vol. II., p. 1066, Ulrici, translated by Newman Smyth, says: "We must admit absolutely, in view of scientific facts, that a continuous existence of self-consciousness without a bodily organism cannot be considered. Natural science is therefore right when it steadfastly denies immortality as an isolated continuance of the soul separated from all embodiment." There is no conflict whatever between this direct and positive statement and my critic's quotation from *The Destiny of Man*. What Mr. Fiske says, plainly refers to the natural body, and as such all

who think as I do are in full agreement with him. Therefore Dr. Titzel's quotation is not applicable. The question is not whether the soul can have conscious existence without the animal organism in which it lives in this world. All Christian scientists admit that it can. But what science and revelation both teach is that when physical dissolution takes place, in order that there may be active, conscious life, the soul must at once have some kind of embodiment. When the earthly house is dissolved there immediately succeeds to the natural body "a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens."

From what has now been said it is evident that none of the Scripture passages quoted in reference to the point under consideration have any bearing on the subject. When, for example, Jesus said: "Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit," He did not think of mind apart from corporeity, but of whatever survived after physical dissolution had taken place. Query: Cannot the dead, though living in spiritual bodies, be spoken of as "spirits" with as much propriety as men in this life can be referred to as "souls," as for instance when it is said in Acts 2: 41, "And there were added unto them in that day about 3,000 souls?" In passing let me call the reader's special attention to my critic's exegesis of Gen. 2: 7 and Matt. 10: 28.

In returning and aiming at what appears to be his favorite target he tells us that when a caterpillar is changed into a butterfly, "such change takes place only when it has reached a certain state of development, and that if wheat be harvested when very immature, the grains will shrivel, and, if sown, will produce nothing." The absurdity here propounded by pressing the analogy employed by Jesus and by St. Paul beyond all possible bounds is so glaring that it is its own best refutation. What human death is at one period of life it unquestionably is at every other period. It is the same whether the subject of it be a day or a hundred years old.

But the miracle of raising Lazarus, it is assumed, will certainly settle the question at issue between us. My reviewer has a theory according to which it can be "easily and rationally

explained." "Jesus, by divine power, brought soul and body together again, and then Lazarus came forth from his grave." All very easy and rational! No trouble about getting the soul back into a body that was undergoing corruption. But if the soul of the poor man did not remain entirely naked during the four days that he was dead, the spiritual body which kept him in conscious existence had to be forced back again into mere potentiality! Is this last the only thing that involves an absurdity in what my critic has to say of this miracle? Is not rather his entire treatment of the subject supremely absurd?

"Again it is claimed that if consciousness immediately follows death and the actual development of the spiritual body nevertheless begins only at death, it is at variance with our scientific knowledge that a body which shall reach its complete development only in the course of thousands of years, nevertheless should be in a few hours so developed as to enable its possessor to have full enjoyment of conscious existence." This we fail to see, because the spiritual body may unfold almost instantaneously at death, like a blossom, and thus form the necessary medium of expression for the soul which has been growing during its earthly sojourn period, and which, therefore, at once needs not only the nucleus of a body, but a body in some sense adequate to its maturing wants, and yet that body, like fruit contained in undeveloped form in the blossom, may not reach maturity before Christ shall come and through the final revelation and transformation of the second advent furnish the inward power as well as the external environment for the full completion of human life in the kingdom of glory, when all men shall be suddenly brought through a final crisis into their ultimate form of existence.

In regard to the resurrection of Christ my critic tells us that "unquestionably the evangelists were all of the opinion that the body of Jesus which was laid in the grave was that which arose, and which the disciples saw, and that the importance which they attach to the empty tomb proves that such was the case." Two things they certainly knew: the tomb

was empty, and Jesus was alive. But we have no evidence whatever that they asked themselves how His risen body was related to His remains. That particular inquiry did not confront the disciples, and therefore they do not express an opinion, or furnish testimony in regard to it. In the development of Christian doctrine the question has, however, been frequently raised and the subject will no doubt continue to engage the attention of thoughtful minds.

Let us assume then that there was a physical restoration. But Jesus, on the very same day that He rose, appeared in the room where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, the doors being shut, and said: "Peace be unto you." How could He do this? All will admit that it was physically impossible for such a body as He possessed before He died to pass through closed doors. But this much being granted, the theory that there was a physical restoration cannot be maintained. Jesus could enter the room as He did only because His body was no longer composed of "earthly" matter, but of some "material" which can penetrate solids. But does not the assumption that there is such a substance involve a contradiction? No, science has taught us that there is a great ocean of physical being called ether, which fills all space, penetrates all matter and serves as the medium for the transmission and propagation of light, heat, electricity and gravity, and that matter itself is but knots, aggregations, temporary arrangements of this universal ether. When light passes through a window pane the particles of which the glass is composed remain unmoved, but the light is carried by the ether which moves in waves among the vitreous molecules. We can account satisfactorily for the peculiar characteristics of our Saviour's resurrection body only by assuming that it was constituted of some substance having properties similar to those of ether, and yet more real than the gross forms of matter of which our natural bodies are composed and, therefore, a better medium for the expression of human life in a higher stage of existence. It was no longer a natural body, manifesting the life of "the living (animal)

soul," but having become the organ of "the life-giving spirit," it was a spiritual body. But the natural being embraced in and being under the power of the spiritual, Jesus could still manifest Himself within the sphere of nature, and accordingly could make Himself visible to the eyes of His disciples, could show the print of the nails, and could eat before them.\*

"That He ate," says Augustine, "was the fruit of His power, not of His necessity." The difficulty of accounting for the fact is similar to that which confronts us in the case of the angels who appeared to Abraham and Lot and partook of food (Gen. 18: 8 and 19: 3). The cases are not parallel, but have much in common. In reference to the angels Delitzsch says: "The human form, in which they appeared, was a representation of their invisible nature, and thus they ate, according to Justin Martyr, as we say of the fire, it consumes (or eats) all." "There may be here," says Dr. J. P. Lange, "an intimation of the mysterious fact that the spiritual world is mighty in its manifestations, and overcomes the material, according to the figurative expression of Augustine: 'The thirsting earth absorbs the water in one way, the burning rays of the sun in another; that from want, this by power.'" Baumgarten also says: "That the angels could eat, lies in their pneumatic nature, for the spirit has power over matter." How much less then could nature offer barriers to our Blessed Lord who had been raised into fullness of spiritual life on the third day?

Whatever was essential to His perfected personality in spirit, soul and body, Jesus Christ possessed as risen. He died and at the same time surmounted death, physical dissolution being the necessary condition of transition to a higher form of life. According to the best commentators 1 Peter 3: 18, "Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit," teaches that at the very moment when Jesus died He was also made alive. This great truth is illustrated by the analogy of the seed which when cast into the ground dies and yet lives—ceases to exist as a seed and survives as a stalk. In a profound sense it dies—gives up its specific form of existence through the entrance



of its life principle into another form. The germ is not separated from the body of the seed and then at some future time brought back to it again, but the stalk is raised up out of the seed through the living process of germination and growth. The law of succession does not consist in the one bodily form entering into another, but rather in the new getting rid of the old. The seed as such does not pass over into the stalk. In germination the albumen is absorbed, but the wrappings, which enclosed it and the life-germ, decay and become to the new plant no more than other matter. Therefore, if Jesus Christ died, in order that through death He might enter into a higher form of life, then His remains were not essential to the existence of His spiritual body, for at the very same time that these were laid aside in death He was made alive in the Spirit, and thus began to live in His spiritual body.

Whatever in His previous form of life could be made to minister to His advanced stage of existence was no doubt assimilated. This assimilation may have been, however, fully accomplished while He was dying, so that if His remains should have been stolen from the tomb and cremated that would not have changed the character of His resurrection, or the nature of His resurrection body. No one certainly would have the temerity to maintain that the preservation of His remains was essential to His resurrection. What actually became of them is a speculative question which we may not be able to answer categorically. Neither is it necessary that we should, provided we hold fast the great truth that on the third day He rose into full corporeal life.

When my critic proceeds to consider the resurrection under its positive aspects, he vainly struggles to remove the impediments which encumber his theory. He says: "But, perhaps, it will be asked, Does not the view that the crucified body of Jesus was raised up again, require us to hold that the bodies of all the dead will be similarly raised, and does not this involve insuperable difficulties? We think not." Here two questions are propounded, and the reader is left in doubt as to whether the negative

answer is intended to cover one or both. Then follows a quotation from Dr. James Strong, who tells us that the difficulties raised by supposing that the same matter may have entered into the composition of different bodies successively is imaginary, because God might easily prevent such a fortuity. But that sounds like a weak reply. Accordingly Dr. Strong adds: "In any case, the amount of such re-used matter would be too trifling to affect the question seriously." Feeling that he is only getting deeper into the difficulty he continues: "But this absolute sameness of the very atoms" (yet this is the precise point which he has raised) "is not necessary, for in this sense no individual body is the same at different periods, hardly, indeed, an hour together." Thus, while starting out to maintain that the atoms *are* the same, he concludes by proving that they are *not* the same, and holds that they only need to be *similar*, and to be animated by the same soul. This reasoning Dr. Titzel endorses and thereby surrenders his case, for such reasoning completely subverts his continual assumption, viz., that the resurrection consists in raising up what is buried.

The Scriptures teach the resurrection of the dead—emergence from death into full corporeal life. What all is involved in the transition, and how the glorious consummation is effected is a mystery, and therefore hard to conceive and not fully capable of explanation. But this we know, that as in Adam all die because of their organic relation to him, so also in virtue of their still deeper and more far-reaching relation to Jesus Christ all shall be made alive in Him, who, as the archetypal Man, the Second Adam, is the original root out of which the race has sprung, and through whom also it reaches its ultimate form of existence. He is the first and the last, the beginning and the end.

In the early Church there was a division of opinion in regard to the true nature of the resurrection. Greek thought, as represented by Clement of Alexandria, did not accept the opinion which was received in the West and maintained by Tertullian, that the identical flesh of the body which had been

laid in the grave would be reanimated. The resurrection was the standing up again of the dead in greater fulness of life, in spirit, soul and body. During the Middle Ages and the Reformation period, the study of eschatology did not receive much attention. Since then, and particularly during the latter part of the present century, a new interest has been awakened in the subject. The more it is considered and investigated, the larger is the number of those who have come to the conclusion that while the Bible emphasizes the resurrection of the dead, it does not teach the resuscitation of the physical remains. We believe in the resurrection of the dead, and therefore most heartily in the resurrection of the body, for man consists of body as well as of soul and spirit, but we do not believe in the resurrection of the corpse.

This is the view very generally entertained in the Reformed Church. In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Vol. II., p. 849, Dr. E. V. Gerhart expresses himself as follows: "In the new life, the type and law of the resurrection body are potential forces, but the life is not its own pabulum. From itself exclusively it cannot evolve the glorified form of organization. For the pabulum of complete organization, the spiritual man, like the natural man, depends on a corresponding environment, an external homogeneous world. That necessary environment is the new cosmos, the final creation of the immanent Christ, which will reach its consummation at His second coming. Until then the righteous will not possess the mature glorified embodiment. Being neither in the natural body, nor clothed with the resurrection body, but living in a spiritual form supported by and corresponding to the environment of the intermediate realm, they will be corporeal in principle rather than actually. The law of their intermediate life of blessedness is somatic, but the operation of the law is in a relative sense suspended.

"In the final catastrophe, when at the second coming the new heaven and the new earth will supersede the existing cosmos and the blessedness of Paradise, the conditions and relations

of the righteous will be changed. In that final epoch of their history they will be released from incompleteness and from the suspense of the ultimate perfection. Spiritual life will unfold itself in a form fully answering to its own law in the bosom of the world to come. That world will supply the needful pabulum of the spiritual body. From the paradisaical realm the righteous will go forth in a new corporeal organism, the building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, a building which will be the structure of the form-producing type of Christ's life in His members, the necessary material being given by the new environment, the perfected condition of the cosmos."

Instruction like this, imparted during my seminary course, by the honored teacher who has grown old in the service of the Church, but is still young in spirit and in vigor of mind and body, first opened to me the line of thought which has issued in the publication of my book. On some minor points I no doubt differ with him, but on the general subject of the resurrection of the dead I believe that we are in substantial agreement.

That my views have been received with very general approval by leaders of thought in the Reformed and other Churches, is indicated by the following excerpts:

"I can heartily endorse your positions, although they are in advance of the current theology. . . . I am quite satisfied with the book. It places you in line with the advanced theological thinkers of the times." Dr. Thomas G. Apple, in a letter to the author, May 25, 1895.

"We have only to say that the theme, though old, is presented in a new and interesting light. Its treatment displays marked philosophic as well as literary skill. It is evident that the author has not only read extensively and with attentive consideration, but that he has also pondered long and profoundly on some of the most perplexing, yet, at the same time, fascinating problems that have ever engaged the human mind. We doubt not that, in general, his solutions are in harmony,

as well with the Bible, when rightly interpreted, as with the best results of modern thought. . . . The style is simple, yet elegant; vigorous, yet smooth. The language of the book is free from all technicalities, and can be understood by any intelligent reader as easily as by the professional theologian. The author knows what he wishes to say, and, for the most part, has no difficulty in making his meaning clear. Occasionally, indeed, we have met with an expression, or even a statement, liable to be misunderstood; but this is a rare occurrence. We take pleasure in commending to the public this fresh, interesting and thoughtful book." Dr. F. A. Gast, in *The New Era*, Lancaster, Pa., June 22, 1895.

"The book shows wide reading on the part of its author. It has not been a hasty production. The author has gone generally through the literature of his subject, and has written thoughtfully, cautiously, and with a masterly grasp of his material. The style is plain, direct, and forcible. . . . That all readers will agree with the positions taken by the author is not to be expected. Some will doubtless dissent from the conclusions which have been reached by the learned author, but we predict that a far larger number, after a careful perusal of his pages, will be in substantial agreement with him." Dr. William Rupp, in *The Reformed Church Messenger*, March 28, 1895.

"This is a notable book and one that deserves, as we are sure it will receive, serious attention from the theological world as well as from the Christian public in general. Thoughtful, earnest, suggestive and devout, it furnishes food for thought, emphasizes the precious truth of the gospel, and strengthens faith in the supernatural realities of divine revelation. At the same time it makes earnest with the facts established by natural science, and treats its difficult theme with commendable candor and remarkable ability. Every page of the book gives evidence of wide reading, careful study and vigor of thought, while the style in which it is written is forcible, clear and sparkling. . . . The author's treatment of his theme must challenge

serious thought. He throws new light on difficult questions; he is abreast with the science of the day; he is devoutly reverent in his treatment of the Scriptures; and he preserves intact every essential article of the Christian faith." Dr. John S. Stahr, in *The Reformed Quarterly Review*, July, 1895.

"The aim of this book is to strengthen our faith and fortify it against the possible assaults of its enemies. The work is an earnest and creditable contribution to the solution of great questions. With the most of its positions I heartily agree, and feel grateful to the author for the benefits of its perusal. He sheds new light on certain dark passages by holding the torch of science over them. Thus he makes science a handmaid instead of a hindrance to religion." Dr. B. Bausman, in *The Reformed Church Record*, May 9, 1895.

"We readily accept the views of the writer concerning creation, the nature of man, the original and natural mortality of the human body, and sin as not having caused, but only modified, this mortality; but it does not seem to us that his peculiar view of the resurrection of Christ follows from these as an absolutely necessary consequence. . . . While we cannot, for the present at least, accept Dr. Gerhard's view of the resurrection of Christ (though accepting many of the after-views contained in the volume), we wish to say that his book is one which we gladly and heartily welcome. . . . The temper and spirit of this book are worthy of much praise. The volume has the charm of a very lucid style and the strength of very able argument. It is a book of investigation; it is, as its title imports, an earnest inquiry into the true nature of death and the resurrection; and, as such, deserves to be widely read and carefully considered." Dr. J. Spangler Kieffer, in *The Reformed Church Messenger*, May 30, 1895.

"The book is strongly written. The author's discussion of his subject is full and clear; his meaning is never left to conjecture; he states his propositions squarely and broadly. . . . The views of the author, though decided and expressed so as to leave no doubt as to his meaning, are yet temperately and

reverently stated. The book breathes throughout the spirit of Christian enthusiasm and the strong faith of the true believer. You can feel as you read that the Christianity of the author seems to feed and grow strong upon the great thoughts which he expresses. It is not skepticism; it is an honest search for the truth by one who accepts, without doubt, the religion of Jesus Christ. We commend the book to all honest searchers after truth." The Hon. George F. Baer, in *The Daily Times*, Reading, Pa., May 3, 1895.

"This is a gratifying exception to the average publication on this subject which, as a rule, falls flat in common place or dissolves in sentimental illusion." *The New York Independent*, May 30, 1895.

"Whatever one looks for at the inconceivably distant end of the world, . . . it is of great consequence to hold to the cardinal point of this book—that life in the spiritual body immediately succeeds when life in the animal body ends. Still more important is it to distinguish Biblically, as Dr. Gerhard agrees with Dr. Whiton in doing, between 'the resurrection of the dead'—the just and unjust alike—and 'the resurrection from the dead,' the prize of 'patient continuance in well-doing,' and the life of moral health and glory, which is for the just alone. Readers of our Notes and Queries will recognize much agreement between our views and those of this book." *The Outlook* (formerly *Christian Union*), July 31, 1895.

"I have not yet had time to read your book with care, but one does not have to look far into it to see what the main argument is. In that I think I agree with you altogether." Dr. S. D. McConnell, Rector of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, in a letter to the author, Nov. 5, 1895.

"I have not yet had time to read the whole of your book, but I have spent some hours over it, and with deep interest. I have also made some use of it in my services. So far as I have read I find myself in substantial sympathy with your leading views." Theodore T. Munger, in a letter to the author, May 15, 1895.

“I have to thank you for a copy of your interesting book, at which I have glanced already and which I shall read before long carefully. From what I have seen it awakens much interest in me. It seems to be a very careful and thorough piece of work on a subject which is certainly awakening great interest at present.” R. Heber Newton, D.D., in a letter to the author, Nov. 16, 1895.

“Many thanks for ‘Death and the Resurrection,’ which I have read with much interest and profit.” John Fiske, in a letter to the author, Nov. 21, 1895.

*Reading, Pa.*



## VIII.

### NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

**A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON DEUTERONOMY.** By Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1895. Crown 8vo. Price, \$3 00, *net*.

**CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON JUDGES.** By George Foot Moore, D.D., Professor of Hebrew in Andover Theological Seminary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1895. Crown 8vo. Price, \$3.00, *net*.

**A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.** By Rev. William Sanday, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; and Rev. A. C. Headlam, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1895. Crown 8vo. Price, \$3.00, *net*.

These three volumes are the first volumes of **THE INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY** on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, edited by Professors Briggs, Driver and Plummer, and published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, and Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

The purpose of this new work is to give to the English student of the Scriptures a critical and comprehensive commentary that will be abreast of modern Biblical scholarship, and in a measure lead its van. It will be prepared by leading American and British divines and scholars of all denominations. It will therefore be international and interconfessional in character, and will be free from polemical and ecclesiastical bias. Designed especially for students and clergymen, it will be written in a compact style, and the different volumes will be based upon a thorough critical study of the original texts of the Bible, and upon critical methods of interpretation. Each book will be preceded by an introduction, stating the results of criticism upon it, and discussing impartially the questions still remaining. The history of interpretation of the different books of Scripture will be dealt with, when necessary, in the introductions to them, and critical notices of the most important literature of the subject will be given. Historical and archæological questions and questions of Biblical theology will also be considered, but not practical or homiletical exegesis.

The volumes whose titles are given above are all that as yet have been published of this commentary. These, however, without exception, are works of very superior merit. They are fully abreast

of the times in point of Biblical scholarship, and they give just such information as is necessary to the proper understanding of the contents of the books to which they relate, as well as of the critical questions pertaining to them. Very competent authorities have, indeed, pronounced each of these volumes the very best commentary in the English language on the portion of Scripture of which it treats, and this is no doubt a correct judgment so far as the wants of scholars are concerned. We would, therefore, heartily commend these volumes to all who are interested in the thorough study of the Scriptures, although we are not prepared to endorse all the views expressed and maintained in any of them. They are works which ministers who would be well informed and up to the times cannot well do without.

**STUDIES IN THEOLOGY.—IV. CREATION:** God in Time and Space. By Randolph S. Foster, D. D., LL. D., A Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1895. Price, \$3.00.

These studies in theology relating to creation are highly interesting and instructive. The subjects of them are: To find the Method of the Eternal Cause, Space Measures of the Universe, The Inorganic Universe, Masses of Matter—Worlds, the Solar System, Vastness of the Solar Group, Economics of the Inorganic Universe, Mode of Making the Solar System, Beyond the Solar System, Time Measures of the Universe, Dawn of the Life System, The Organic Universe, Of Man, All Human Beings from One Pair, and Are Other Worlds Inhabited? The discussion of these subjects is very scholarly and masterly. Its object is "to show the vastness of creation in its space and time measures, and its method of advance from the incipient material atom to the topmost result of spiritual existence, from chaos to cosmos, from the inorganic to the organic, and from the organic to the superorganic, and from the superorganic, or merely sentient, to the higher superorganic or spiritual realm." Many important and striking facts are presented throughout the volume which can scarcely fail to awaken in the mind of the reader increased reverence for the great Creator of all things. The book, moreover, will supply ministers with the richest illustrations of the great themes which they are called to elucidate and unfold, and will impart zest and variety to their ministrations, as well as broaden their view of the Divine method and operations. The author's views are always sound and rational, and these studies are in every respect worthy a place in every minister's library. It would be indeed well if the work were widely circulated among ministers and read by them, for it is a striking commentary on the words of the Psalmist: "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork."

**THE NEW LIFE IN CHRIST.** A Study in Personal Religion. By Joseph Agar Beet, D.D. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, \$1.50.

This volume is the sequel to an earlier one entitled, *Through Christ to God*, which was noticed in this REVIEW a year or so ago. In the earlier volume the author "set forth the historical basis of the Christian faith and hope." In the present volume, he goes on "[to delineate the goodly structure which rests securely on that firm foundation." This goodly structure, or New Life in Christ, the author endeavors "to investigate according to the principles of scientific research." This investigation is divided into five parts, which treat respectively of The Ruin, The Restoration, The Way of Holiness, The Divine and Human in the Christian Life, and The Revelation of God in the New Life in Christ. The results attained are sound and assuring. The work is a very able one, and will amply repay careful study. The author proposes to follow it with still another volume on *The Church of Christ*. In the present volume, he says of baptism and the Lord's Supper, that they are "imperative on all the servants of Christ; and if so, they must be channels through which the Spirit of God conveys supernatural good to man."

**CHRISTIANITY IN THE UNITED STATES—FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.** By Daniel Dorchester, D.D. Revised Edition. Hunt & Eaton, New York. Cranston & Curts, Cincinnati. \$3.50

This is a stately and beautiful volume of over 800 pages, done in the best style of the printer's and binder's art. Its character and purpose are indicated by the title. It is not exactly a history of the *Christian Church* in the United States, but of *Christianity*. It grew out of certain correspondence the author held with Rev. Robert Baird, D.D., now deceased, the eminent historian of *Religion in America*. Its aim is to trace the influence of the Christian religion upon the life of communities and the nation. This involved, of course, the statistics, and to some extent the history, of the various Christian denominations, but it has opened up greater room for the author's study and statement of the influence these denominations exert upon the social life of the nation. The competing forces of religion upon the nation, the author has included under three heads: Protestantism, Romanism, and a variety of divergent elements. These are traced historically in the different stages of the national life, from the beginning in the colonial times down to the present time. The work contains a number of maps and tables of statistics. It includes a larger expression of the author's opinion and judgment upon the forces he traces than in a mere history, and the reader may find occasion here and there to dissent from such judgment, but on the whole it will be found helpful to the reader. The influence of the skeptical philosophy of England and France

upon the nation's early life is brought out more fully than is the case in the mere history of religious denominations. We commend the volume as a valuable, as well as ornamental, contribution to any library.

**LITERATURE OF THEOLOGY: A CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THEOLOGICAL AND GENERAL RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.** By John Fletcher Hurst. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1896. \$4.00.

This is a volume not so much for the general reader, or for general reading, but rather for students and scholars, and that in a special department. It contains 757 pages of titles of books, and an appendix of 139 pages of the names of authors and subjects. The author says very pertinently in the close of his preface: "The author of the *Literature of Theology* dares not flatter himself that he can persuade many possessors of poor collections of books to reform them; but if he can lead some of those who are forming their libraries, who are looking into the future for the possession of treasures in books, to select well, to buy only the best, and to make a wise search for special information in general libraries, the disappointments and agonies of at least one friend of books, and friend of all who find friends in books, will not have been in vain."

After an introduction, containing Propædeutics, Bibliography, Dictionaries, Cartography, and Collected Works, there are the following general divisions:

I. Exegetical Theology, including critical apparatus, commentaries, special subjects; II. Historical Theology, with sub-divisions; III. Systematic Theology; and IV. Practical Theology.

We recommend this volume to all who are interested in the study of theology, and especially to theological students who are just beginning to form their libraries. One feature of the notices is that the price is always given, thus saving the necessity often of correspondence to find it out. This book, like a good dictionary, should be at hand for reference in every minister's library.

**THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL.** *Popular Sketches from Old Testament History.* By Carl Heinrich Cornill, Doctor of Theology and Professor of Old Testament History in the University of Königsberg. Translated by Sutton F. Corkran. The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago. 1895. Pages, viii and 194. Price, Cloth, \$1.00.

Prof. Cornill is well known in England and America, as well as in Germany, as an authority in regard to matters connected with Old Testament Science. The volume before us, though the matter of which it consists was first delivered in the form of popular lectures, bears marks of thorough critical scholarship, of honest and fearless devotion to truth, and of sincere Christian faith. Prof. Cornill is an orthodox Christian, no less than a scientific critic and

theologian. Of course he treats the history of the prophets and of the religion of Israel from the standpoint of the organic view which has become the reigning view among German as well as English theologians. This view applies to the history of Israel the idea of organic development and progress, which must be applied to the history of other nations, but does not for that reason refuse to see in the history of Israel a higher element and life than those which are found elsewhere. Israel is a peculiar people, and its history is a peculiar history; but it is *history*, and not merely mechanical movement, and has, therefore, real moral and religious value. The fourteen or fifteen hundred years of Israel's history present not merely a dead level of religious and moral ideas and sentiments, but a progressive evolution. The degree of religious development in the time of Moses, for instance, was not at all what it was in the time of the prophets. This truth underlies the book before us, and is presented with clearness and force. Those who wish to know the tendency of the *Higher Criticism*, in its devout as well as most scientific form, will do well to read this little volume.

In order to give the reader an idea of the author's style and of the open candor with which he states his convictions, we quote a few sentences. "In the sense in which the historian speaks of 'knowing,'" he says, "we know absolutely nothing about Moses. All original records are missing; we have not received a line, not even a word, from Moses himself, or from any of his contemporaries; even the celebrated Ten Commandments are not from him, but, as can be proved, were written in the first half of the seventh century, between 700 and 650 B.C." But while he thus denies to Moses the composition of the Pentateuch, our author nevertheless assumes that Moses was an historical character, whose work, though not absolutely new for Israel, was yet the real foundation of *Jahvism*, or of the religion of Israel, upon which the prophets afterwards builded further. The word *Jahveh*, about whose origin and meaning there has been so much dispute, the author derives from an Arabic root which means to "cause to fall," to "fell;" *Jahveh* is the *feller*, the God who overthrows His enemies by means of His thunderbolts. Of course it came to mean much more in later times.

It remains only to add that the book is provided with a copious *index*, which adds greatly to its value, making it convenient as a book of reference; and that the translation is done in a most admirable manner. Indeed, if it were not so stated, one would not suppose it to be a translation at all, but a work originally composed in English. This is the advantage of having for translator one who not only understands the language from which and that into which he is translating, but also the *thought* which he is interpreting.

W. R.

**PRIMER OF PHILOSOPHY.** By Dr. Paul Carus. The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago. 1895. Pages 238. Price, paper cover, 25 cents.

This work belongs to the "Religion of Science Library," now being issued serially by the *Open Court Publishing Company*. The volumes of this series are issued bimonthly, and the annual subscription price is \$1.50. This makes scientific literature of a high order as cheap as fiction, and brings it within the reach of readers in the most limited financial circumstances.

The volume before us, though called a *Primer*, is not by any means a work for mere beginners in philosophy. It is a work, in fact, which, though it might be used as a text-book for beginners in colleges, requires on the part of the reader some considerable power of abstract thinking, and can be studied with profit by persons who are no longer beginners in the domain of thought to which it belongs. It is written in a plain and direct style. The language is clear and perspicuous. The technical terms used, and which could not be avoided in a work on philosophy, are carefully explained, and the signification adopted is adhered to. Such terms, for example, as "subjective" and "objective," "a priori" and "a posteriori," "deductive" and "inductive," "experience," "knowledge," "science," etc., are analyzed with clearness and precision, so that an intelligent reader need have no particular difficulty in finding his way through the labyrinths of metaphysics. The author is familiar with German philosophy; and his knowledge of German philosophical terminology has been of much value to him, enabling him to reach clear definitions in English.

The author's philosophical principle may be expressed in the terms *positive monism*. But neither of these terms is taken in the sense in which they have usually been understood. Positivism here does not stand for sensationalism or materialism, but for the idea that all our knowledge rests upon objective data or facts. The thinking mind does not create its objects, but finds them given in an objective intelligible world. So the term monism is not used in the sense of "one substance," but in the sense that the universe is an organic whole, and that all the different truths contained in it are but so many aspects of one and the same truth. The reality underlying the phenomenal universe, both in its subjective and objective aspects, is defined as "a system of interactions," or "as a process of causation." This definition, which seems to be essentially the same as that of Lotze, does away with the notion of matter as of an inert something absolutely different from spirit. The ultimate constitution of the universe is dynamic, and we are rid of the idea of a dark, impenetrable *hyle*, which, according to the older philosophies, formed an eternal counterpart to the Deity.

Of the value of the philosophy presented in the volume under notice we now express no opinion. We do express our sympathy,



however, with the author's view of the *test* of philosophy. "The truth of a philosophy," he says, "is verified in its ethics. The best argument in favor of a philosophy is this, that people can live according to the maxims derived therefrom." That we believe; and we believe, by the way, that the same test is applicable also to theology. Indeed, theology and philosophy have much in common; and the one will always condition the other. As is our philosophy, so usually will be our theology too; and the study of a system of philosophy so profound as that here under consideration, cannot but have a quickening effect upon theology.

This book also, like the preceding one, has a complete index, which greatly enhances its value to the student. W. R.

AN INTRODUCTION TO DOGMATIC THEOLOGY, Based on Luthardt, by Revere Franklin Weidner, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Theology in the Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary. Second Edition Revised. Fleming H. Revell Company, Publishers, New York, Chicago and Toronto. Pages 287.

This work is not a system of dogmatic theology, but only an introduction, or prolegomenon, to such a system. It treats, with considerable detail, of the *definition*, the *contents*, the *method* and the *history* of dogmatics. Nor is it strictly an original work. It is said on the title page to be based on Luthardt, and it is, besides, as is natural in such a work, a good deal of a compilation. That the work, while not in the ordinary sense a translation, is yet, in many of its parts, at least, a pretty close reproduction of the German original, we think, is apparent from its language and style. We find, for instance, theology defined as "the churchly science of Christianity," and Christianity, as "the personal fellowship of salvation on the part of man with God, in the Holy Ghost, through Jesus Christ." It is only after translating such definitions back into German that one is able fully to comprehend their meaning. An ordinary English reader, we imagine, would be considerably puzzled if he were asked to give the meaning of the phrase "churchly science of Christianity." But such defects may be overlooked in a work of this kind, which is not designed for ordinary readers, but for ministers and students of theology.

Prof. Weidner defines dogmatics as "the science which presents in their connection and mutual relations, the doctrines or dogmas which it is its aim to reproduce from the religious faith of the Christian himself in harmony with the Scriptures and the teaching of the Church." Dogmas are the doctrines of faith involved in the Christian consciousness of the Church at any particular time; and dogmatics is the scientific or systematic presentation of these dogmas. Dogmatic theology is thus differentiated from Biblical theology, on the one hand, and from speculative theology on the other. Dogmatic theology, accordingly, becomes heterodox when it departs

from the established doctrines of a church. For progress in theology we must, therefore, look to Biblical and to speculative or philosophical theology rather than to dogmatics. This, if we understand him correctly, is Professor Weidner's view, and in this we believe that he is correct.

Of course, Professor Weidner is a Lutheran, and believes thoroughly in Lutheran theology. For this certainly no one will blame him. But we who are not Lutheran can not always agree with him. We refer to but a single point. Speaking of Zwingli as a Reformed dogmatician, he says that, "Acknowledging as his formal principle the exclusive authority of Scripture as a Rule of Faith, he often did violence to the word of God, for he approached it externally, and explained the Scriptures according to his subjective judgment. He regarded the sacraments as only commemorative signs, and he had such superficial views of original sin and guilt that he regarded even heathen, like Socrates and Cato, without further qualification, as members of the kingdom of God." To all of which we simply reply that we differ with the learned author. We are free to say, for instance, that, on the subject of original sin, we greatly prefer Zwingli's view to that of Luther, which supposes man in his present condition to be as devoid of moral power as a stock or a stone (*similis trunco et lapidi*). But this difference of opinion in regard to particular doctrines does not prevent us from seeing in the volume before us an important contribution to theological science, which we can recommend especially to such as are interested in the history of dogmatics.

W. R.

**THE CHRIST DREAM**, by Louis Albert Banks, D.D., author of "The People's Christ," "White Slave," "The Revival Quiver," "Common Folks' Religion," etc. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Pages 275. Price, \$1.20.

This is a volume of sermons on such themes as "The Dream of Christian Civilization," "Angelic Models for Earthly Lives," "The Treasures of the Highlands," "The Inspiration of the Hope of Immortality," "The Vital Atmosphere of a Christian Life," etc. The number of discourses contained in the volume is twenty-four. We presume that the title of the selection was suggested by the theme of the first sermon, in which the thought is developed that the hope or dream of a universal triumph of Christianity in this world, is destined to become a reality—is, in fact, being realized now. The world, though still sinful enough, is yet growing better, and Christianity is gradually taking possession of its entire life. The same spirit of hopeful optimism, or perhaps, rather, *meliorism*, seems to run through the other sermons embraced in the collection.

The language is simple and chaste, and is adapted to the intelligence of ordinary Christian congregations. The structure of the sermons is unconventional and natural. While the thought pro-



ceeds according to correct logical sequence, there is no exhibition of skeletons and no parade of logical formulas. In this respect these discourses are in harmony with the prevailing fashion of sermonizing in our day. Young preachers who desire a *model* of popular sermons for study would do well to procure this volume. It would be profitable reading also for Christian households. **W. R.**

**MEMORIAL SERVICES IN HONOR OF PETER MINUIT**, First Governor of New Netherlands, 1626-1632, and of New Sweden, 1638, held Tuesday, April 23, 1895, in the Court House, Dover, Delaware, under the Auspices of the General Assembly. Edited by Chaplain Cort of the Senate and Chaplain Murray, of the House, at Dover, Del., May, 1895. Delawarean Power Print, Dover, Delaware, 1895. Pages 43.

The contents of this publication are fully described in the title page. The principal feature of the pamphlet is the Historical Address by Rev. Cyrus Cort, D.D., in which, with becoming piety and patriotism, there is rescued from oblivion one of the important characters in the early history of America, Peter Minuit, the first Governor of New Netherlands, who was a Dutchman, and a member of the Reformed Church of Holland. Dr. Cort deserves the thanks of his countrymen for the services which he has rendered them in this work. It is a part of piety to keep in affectionate remembrance the fathers who were before us. **W. R.**

**POVERTY'S FACTORY**, by Rev. Stanley L. Krebs, M.A. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

This little volume is striking in style and contents, and is well worth careful reading. The author paints in a strong light the social and economical evils which prevail in modern civilization, and finds the primary cause of them in the inequitable distribution of wealth that is in the abnormal accumulation of riches in the hands of a few at the expense and to the detriment of the many. The facts in the case, the existing social conditions, poverty, vice and crime, are set forth with a great deal of skill and in vigorous language. The unfair advantage taken by the few who are in a position to control legislation and manipulate production and trade for their own aggrandizement, and the impotent and ineffective remedies which have been proposed as means of relief are discussed without fear or favor; and finally a way of escape is pointed out through the quickening of the public conscience and the legitimate activity of the Christian Church so as to secure "comprehensive representation"—that is, the representation of every association, profession or station in our legislative bodies, and the consequent enactment of just and equitable laws for the government of rich and poor alike.

The author does not object to the holding of private property, nor does he advocate State socialism; but he insists that the State must

set bounds to the greed and rapacity of men, and that the individual must be taught to recognize his obligation towards others and his responsibility for their condition at the same time that he is concerned for his own development in means and personality. This, we think, is the "hard knot" of the social and economic problem, and the author is undoubtedly right in looking to the principles of our holy religion as the only means at hand for the salvation of modern society.

To secure the proper adjustment of the various economic and social relations between men, more is required than a disposition on the part of particular individuals to make a profession of faith in Christianity and to take an active part in Christian work. The fact that one of the wealthiest men in the United States is an earnest Christian who conducts family worship at home and is the superintendent of a Sunday-school, does not make it safe to leave in his hands the power to tax at his will almost every family in the land by raising the price of a commodity which in one form or another is a prime necessity everywhere. It is easy to be kind and generous, and to give millions for the endowment of universities if you have the power to squeeze out of the scanty earnings of the poorest more than enough to reimburse you. And every one, no doubt, would rather see such power in the hands of a humane, generous Christian man, than in the hands of a hard, selfish villain. But the fact is, such power ought not to be in the hands of *any one*. Manifestly it is incumbent upon society to advance a step so as to make such a condition of things impossible.

It may, however, be fairly questioned whether, in the author's indictment "abnormal wealth" is not charged with the authorship of more evil in the form of poverty and crime than should be properly laid at its door. Selfishness and rapacity, intemperance and vice, abound in all ranks and conditions of men. The hardest task-masters and the greatest oppressors are by no means always the inordinately rich; and it seems to us that the present stage of industrial development, the organization of large establishments with the consequent separation between employers and employees, the degradation of the latter into things or machines to the exclusion of a personal interest in them by the former, and the utter helplessness and recklessness of those who, whether or not by their own fault or forced into the lowest stratum of the social structure, are responsible for much of the poverty and misery which we daily witness. Again, it is a question whether the remedy proposed, "comprehensive representation," is adequate.

The representatives which labor and granger movements have up to this time brought forward have hardly come up to the expectations of their friends and constituents. Here, too, it will be necessary to take a step in advance by means of better education and the inculcation of a higher type of morality or Christian principle.

While, therefore, this book has by no means spoken the last word on the topics which it discusses, it may be regarded as an able and valuable contribution to the literature of the subject, as bright, strong and suggestive, and as an index pointing in a direction in which economic thought is likely to develop very rapidly in the near future.

J. S. S.

**A MANUAL OF ETHICS.** Designed for the Use of Students. By John S. Mackenzie, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Examiner in Mental Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen. Second Edition. W. B. Clive, Publisher, 65 Fifth Avenue, New York. Pages, xxx and 355. Price, \$1.50.

This volume belongs to the "University Tutorial Series," consisting of text-books for the use of students in colleges and universities. The author is already known to philosophical students by means of his profound work entitled "An Introduction to Social Philosophy," which appeared a few years ago. In this Manual of Ethics his reputation for deep thinking and clear writing is well sustained. The work "is intended primarily," we are told, "for the use of private students, and especially for those who are preparing for such examinations in Ethics as those conducted by the University of London." It is, however, well adapted also for use as a text-book in higher institutions of learning, and has accordingly been adopted as such in Yale, Columbia University, Washington, Brown University, University of Kansas, Ohio State University, Iowa College, De Pauw University, Iowa Wesleyan University, and other leading institutions. This fact may be regarded as sufficient evidence of the general merit of the work, especially when we remember that the first edition was only published a little over two years ago.

Some idea of the scope of the work may be obtained from the following table of contents: **PART I. THE THEORY OF MORALS**—*The Scope of Ethics—The Relation of Ethics to other Sciences—The Moral Judgment—Duty—Will and Desire—Happiness—Perfection—The Freedom of the Will—The Individual and Society.* **PART II. THE MORAL LIFE.**—*Moral Order—The Commandments—The Virtues—The Inner Life—Moral Pathology—Moral Progress—The Relation of Art to Ethics—The Relation of Ethics to Religion.*

The general ethical point of view adopted in this manual is that of the school of idealism, or intuitionism, that is, the school founded by Kant, and developed by Hegel in Germany, and by Green and others in England. But the author, whose reading has evidently covered the whole field of ethical thought from Plato and Aristotle downwards, has manifestly learned something also from the school of evolution. While he does not regard the moral life as the product of a blind, spontaneous process of materialistic development, he does nevertheless regard it as a process of development, not merely in the individual, but in the organism of humanity

as a whole. This is implied in the notion of Ethics as the science of conduct with reference to an absolute or supreme end, the highest good. The highest good cannot be realized by any individual for itself, apart from all connection with other individuals. Humanity is an organism of individuals, and it is only through this that the highest moral end or good can be realized. Morality, therefore, must be social. There can be no perfect moral development of the individual without a similar development of society. The perfection of individual moral character would only be possible in the midst of a perfect moral environment. This is an important hint for the moralist, especially for the moral reformer. Again, morality is progressive. The moral ideal is only realized progressively, in connection with the general progress of society. But this does not imply such a relation of the individual to society as would deprive the former of its freedom of will. Our author, though he believes in moral progress, and in the influence of moral environment, is yet a libertarian. He believes in the freedom of the will. He holds, however, that the will which is free is not the will as given in creation, but the will as moralized. "We ought not to say," he remarks, page 147, "that we *are* free, but rather that we are *developing towards* freedom. We shall be perfectly free only when we are perfectly rational; and that will be—when?"

We should like to refer to some other points in the author's treatment of his theme; as, for instance, his views of the relation of art to ethics, and of the relation of ethics to religion. But we must stop. To those of our readers who are interested in ethical studies, and there ought to be many, we commend this volume. We would only add that the volume is not encumbered with those heavy metaphysical discussions which are generally found to make a part of larger treatises on the subject of ethics, and is, therefore, within the capacity of readers of ordinary intelligence. W. R.

**GOD'S WORD THROUGH PREACHING.** The Lyman Beecher Lectures before the Theological Department of Yale College. Fourth Series. By John Hall, D.D., LL.D. A. S. Barnes & Co., Publishers, New York. 1895. Pages 274. Price, \$1.25.

The lectures contained in this volume were delivered twenty years ago. The fact that, after such a lapse of time, there is a sufficient demand to justify a republication of them in the form of a new edition, would seem to be a high testimony to their value; especially at a time when books on the general subject of preaching are as numerous as they are at the present moment. Of course any literary work coming from Dr. Hall might be expected to possess a high degree of merit.

These lectures do not form a treatise on homiletics in the ordinary sense. Their scope is much wider than that. While the lecturer discusses, of course, some of the topics especially treated in homi-

letics, such as the relative advantages of expository, textual, and topical preaching, he considers the function of the preacher always in its relation to the office and work of the ministry as a whole. The ministry, according to Dr. Hall, is an office of the Church, and this fact determines its nature and character.

Dr. Hall maintains that it is the preacher's ordinary business to preach the gospel. It is not the preacher's calling to discuss questions of science, or criticism, or politics. Politics does not, as a rule, belong to the pulpit. And yet, as Dr. Hall says, "Crises may arise when fidelity to Christ demands political teaching from ministers." This we believe to be a correct position.

What Dr. Hall says, in these lectures, of the necessity of the preacher's putting himself into sympathetic relations with his congregation by means of faithful and patient pastoral work among the members of his flock, should receive earnest consideration from every pastor. There is usually a gulf between the minister and his audience, fixed by the difference of their training and pursuits, which must be bridged over before the minister's services can be of much account. "Is it not one of the reasons that account for the mass of men who do not go to church," asks Dr. Hall, "that *they have no feeling that the talking will be on the plane of their lives?*"

To the younger brethren in the ministry especially we commend these lectures as affording very valuable directions for the conduct of their activity. We are sure that if such a volume had fallen into our hands when we were young, it would have been of immense account to us. Success in the ministry, we are coming to be more and more convinced, depends very largely upon the minister's fidelity and tact; and in these regards he may be much helped by the study of a volume like that now under notice. W. R.

# THE REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW

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## I.

### THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR OF 1870-71.

BY RICHARD C. SCHIEDT.

THE battle of Waterloo had annihilated the gigantic forces of the great Napoleon; his throne, constructed upon the fortifications of the Reign of Terror and cemented with blood, had suddenly collapsed for the second time and forever, and the once omnipotent war lord had to pass the end of his days in utter silence upon the solitary rock of St. Helena. After twenty-five years of bloodshed and the prevalence of atrocious horrors, Europe once more settled down to enjoy the comforts of peace, re-establishing the pre-Napoleonic boundaries of the various continental countries as far as possible. The Holy Roman Empire of the German nation had gone to pieces under the forceful blows of Bonaparte's hammering, and its place was taken by the miserable state compound of the German confederacy, headed by two great powers, Austria and Prussia, with the former constantly on the watch for an opportunity to humiliate its rival, who had so nobly fought for the liberation of Germany. In this scarcely laudable effort Austria was seconded by the many other smaller states and statelets whose representatives had gathered around the

green table of the Frankfort Assembly. Frederick William III. was not the man to offer a decided resistance. He had together with Austria and Russia established the Holy Alliance for the protection of the *status quo* and, above all, of the rights of kings. The German university students and professors, who had dreamed of and fought for the reawakening of a strong and free German Empire, now filled the state prisons, and the Holy Alliance weighed like a heavy burden upon the shoulders of worn-out Europe.

A purifying thunderstorm was needed in order to clear the sultry political atmosphere of the times. Wherever the Vienna Congress had wrought mischief, *i. e.*, in France, Italy, the Netherlands, in Poland, even in Germany, demands for greater freedom began to be heard. The famous Parisian July Revolution of 1830 overthrew the senile reign of the Bourbons forever, and the young House of Orleans ascended the French throne; Belgium separated from Holland as an independent kingdom; a number of minor states in Middle and North Germany demanded and were granted constitutions; the liberal governments of Italy, on the other hand, were crushed beneath the iron heels of the Austrian armies, just as the sudden rebellion of the Poles yielded to the gigantic power of the Russian Empire. Again, the threatening rod of Austria enforced a graveyard peace in Germany; the idea that Prussia should be the kingdom of the future, the center for a united Germany, lived hardly anywhere but in the worried brains of a few politicians, and only the Tariff-Union, slowly developing under Prussia's lead, could be considered a feeble preparation for a coming awakening. When in 1840 King Frederick William III. died, following his great statesmen and generals, who had dragged him against his will in 1813 to the front of the intense struggle for liberty, and his son, Frederick William IV. ascended the Prussian throne, everybody expected a golden age for Prussia and Germany. The young king had indeed many good intentions, but little energy; much intellect, but little courage; many beautiful words, but no will power; and thus discontent with the miserable conditions of German affairs rapidly



increased. The smouldering fire burst into a blaze when in February, 1848, a new revolution was inaugurated in Paris and the House of Orleans was wiped away as ingloriously as 18 years before was that of the Bourbons. Now everywhere a powerful popular uprising rushed, as it were, against the worn-out conditions created by the 30 years' reign of the Holy Alliance. In Vienna and Berlin and Munich, yea, in all the smaller German towns, the people were enthusiastically invited to participate directly in the government of their respective states; for the first time in the history of their existence a reconstruction of the entire German constitution was demanded. The Frankfort league was powerless against this mighty onslaught of the people. In all the German states representatives of the liberal party displaced the men of the old regime in the various cabinets; and without much difficulty the first German Parliament assembled in May of '48, in St. Paul's Church in Frankfort-on-the-Main, for the purpose of constructing a new constitution for a united Germany. King Frederick William IV. granted without a word of objection the demands presented by the people and suppressed the riots of the mob in the streets of Berlin; however, only for a short time, for the only manly defender of the Prussian arms, Prince William, was sent into exile to England. Finally, after the Prussian National Assembly had exhausted all the madness of its revolutionary experiments, Frederick William IV. gave his people a national parliamentary constitution and thus ended the internal wars. A similar cyclone with similar results passed over Austria, but the difficulties of the Frankfort Parliament were not yet removed. Austria, with the following of Hungarians, Lombardians, Slavs, Poles, etc., could no longer remain the chief ruler over German affairs, while Prussia's good intentions, but feeble actions, were despised in South Germany; so was its king, a brilliant, amiable, eloquent weakling. However, the idea of a German Empire with a German Parliament could not be abandoned. It had become immortal; the crown of the new constitution was the establishment of a hereditary imperial monarchy, a monarchy that should and could only be in the possession of the most



powerful of the purely German princes, *i. e.*, of the King of Prussia, although he then was of but little account. This plan was, as a matter of course, bitterly opposed by the representatives of Austria and the democratic leaders of the Southern German states; nevertheless, by a small majority, Frederick William IV. was elected hereditary German Emperor. However, the Prussian king, convinced of his own weakness, fearing the enmity of Austria and some of the middle states, but especially abhorring the all-wise university men of the Frankfort Parliament, declined the honor, and the dream of a glorious resurrection of a new German Empire ended in a sad and melancholy awakening. Despair again seized upon the best minds of the land; the clearest thinkers, the noblest patriots, returned home broken-hearted from the disbanded Parliament of Frankfort. The time was not yet at hand; the man who should transform the paper crown of Frankfort into one of gold on the field of battle had not yet been called upon the arena of history; his turn came twenty years later. All efforts of Frederick William IV. to win the other German states north and south for his plans failed; he even had to submit to violent interferences on the part of Austria, within his own domain in Hesse and Holstein, in spite of the respectable strength of the Prussian army, finally yielding, in the treaty of Olmütz of 1850, to the most outrageous demands ever made upon a prince of the House of Hohenzollern. Electoral Hesse was again delivered into the hands of its wretched prince, Holstein under the united rule of Austria and Denmark, and the pitiable Frankfort League was re-established. The only redeeming feature in the whole transaction was the commission of Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen to represent Prussia in the Frankfort League. And again the peace and silence of the church-yard reigned supreme in German lands during the fifth decade of the 19th century. In the meantime stirring events had taken place in neighboring countries. After the expulsion of the House of Orleans, France had again established a Republic with Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the nephew of the great Napoleon, as President. The new ruler had spent the years of his childhood in

Germany, his young manhood in Switzerland. Firmly convinced of his mission to re-establish at some future day the French Empire, he had made several unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the throne of King Louis Philippe, a folly which brought him the pleasure of spending several years of imprisonment in some French fortress, until he succeeded in escaping to England. Sly as a fox, he entered, largely through the influence of his name, in September, 1848, the National Assembly, being, at the end of the year, elected President of the Republic for four years. Born a conspirator and educated to intrigue, he nullified, by an act of violence, the new constitution, on the 2nd of December, 1851, and closed the National Assembly; yet the French people, tired of rebellions and longing for peace, extended by a general vote, Napoleon's Presidency to ten years, offering him on the 2nd of December, 1852, the title and rights of Emperor. Being unsuccessful in his efforts of obtaining a wife from among the old royal families, he married, at the beginning of 1853, the beautiful Eugenie de Montijo, duchess of Spanish Teba. Their only child was born in March, 1856, receiving the name Prince Napoleon Eugene Louis.

Napoleon III. had promised before his *coup d'etat* that the Empire would mean peace. Nothing was more untrue. His whole aspiration was concentrated upon the one aim to become the supreme arbiter in European affairs, and the road to such honors leads through blood. Russia alone had passed through the stormy Revolutionary period without a single tremor; Emperor Nicholas, aided by his formidable army, supported Austria in its severe struggle against Hungary, opposing Prussia's policy with an iron hand and hindering it in all its movements by his constant threats. The omnipotent Czar felt that his time had come for a renewed attack upon feeble Turkey. The surprise and annihilation of the Turkish fleet in the Black Sea on the 13th of November, 1853, caused, in the spring of 1854, the formation of the Franco-English alliance, joined later by little Sardinia, for the protection of Turkey; Austria changed its friendly relation toward Russia, while Prussia remained neutral.

In the fall of 1854 the united fleets of France, England and Turkey enclosed the strong fortress, Sebastopol, forcing it to surrender after a year's severe fighting. Emperor Nicholas died from chagrin, and his successor, Alexander II. negotiated for peace in March, 1856.

This so-called *Peace of Paris* changed European affairs completely. Russia's omnipotence was irretrievably broken, her influence in Europe gone. Napoleon III. had accomplished his purpose; his regiments and his guns had decided Sebastopol's fall and the star of his fame and power had reached the zenith. Prussia had lost its rank as a great power, and little Sardinia took its place by virtue of her bold policy.

However, Prussia's time of action was not far distant. King Frederick William IV. nicknamed to this day by the jovial Berlinians "Champagner Fritz," lost his mind, and gradually his office and work passed into the hands of his brother, Prince William of Prussia, who since 1858 acted as independent prince regent, and on the 2nd of January, 1861, after the death of his brother, he was crowned King of Prussia. It was high time that a strong monarch should again occupy the Hohenzollern throne. Napoleon III. had in 1859 joined Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia, for the purpose of liberating Italy from the supremacy of Austria. After repeated defeats the latter called upon Prussia for assistance, but King William would only consent on the condition that he be made commander-in-chief of the united forces, a demand that seemed so humiliating that Austria quickly asked for peace, which was negotiated on the 11th of July, 1859, at Villafranca, involving the loss of Lombardy and enlarging the chasm between the two great German powers.

King William I. was already 64 years of age when he ascended the throne of his fathers, but a man of sound conscientious principles, clear, deliberate and vigorous in his thinking, free from all the fantastic notions of his brother, conscious of his aims and determined to preserve with all the firmness of his courage whatever he had gained. Despising the humdrum policy of the high church party of the court, he concentrated his studies chiefly

upon military questions. His clear vision well recognized that the time of the great struggle had not yet passed, that sooner or later accounts had to be settled with Austria and France, and, in order to avoid a second Olmütz, Prussia had to reorganize and to strengthen its war forces. With the help of a liberal ministry and a yielding house of representatives, the necessary pecuniary means were obtained for the gigantic task to be undertaken. Members of the Prussian staff had carefully studied the tactics in the Crimea, in Italy, in North America and in Mexico, under the leadership of General von Moltke, the former adviser of the Turkish Pasha on the Euphrates and Tigris, now appointed and inspired by his great king himself. Profiting by his own experience in the Baden campaign of 1848, and on the basis of the most important military reports of other campaigns, William I. ordered that all military tactics, from the target drill and marching exercises of single companies to the greater movements of whole armies, should be carried out on war principles. Service and life in the open camp became more and more prominent, creating a change which astonished, during the manœuvres of 1862 and '63 on the Rhine, in Brandenburg, all foreign representatives. The victory of the French, especially of Napoleon I. had depended upon the presence of the great warrior himself; wherever his generals were left to their own initiative they were invariably defeated. William I. on the other hand, directed his whole energy toward the preparation of good generals and officers. Men like Moltke, Roon, Manteuffel, Hindersin, Peuker, etc., owe their fame largely to his discovery of their talents and ability. After the death of Napoleon his tactics had largely passed to oblivion in France, while they were introduced and taught by the talented Clausewitz in Prussia. Clausewitz became the revealer of the secret of Napoleon's military skill, so that it may be said that the battles which William the Victorious fought were fought with Napoleon's weapons. They were, however, not a mere copy; William's keen, strategic insight recognized at once the new momenta which railroads and telegraphs had produced in military science, and only with their

aid those great triumphs could be obtained which the world has witnessed. Also, in organizing the line of battle, William I. excelled the Frenchman, or, rather, his schooling excelled the latter's genius. Napoleon massed his armies before the battle began. In most cases the masses gathered right in front of the enemy's army, and only after the massing had taken place the real battle opened, showing that success depended entirely upon his personal presence, for whenever he left a single position in others' charge it became endangered. The great national armies of William I. on the other hand, were subdivided into independent under armies, acting according to general directions, given with classic brevity in from 3 to 6 lines. They followed separate lines of marching, but made united charges. Herein lies another great strength of the German army. Battles like those of Königgrätz, Woerth, Gravelotte, Beaumont, Sedan, Orleans and Le Mans, where the different armies always united just at the beginning of the battle, will remain typical as indicative of the generalship of William I. Further, the use of the railroad and telegraph system, so thoroughly studied by Moltke, enabled the leaders to give orders and make announcements with a precision never heard of before. A long and thorough preparation during times of peace was the watchword of old William, for when war is announced we must know at once, by the quickest calculation of space, time, ground and strength, whither to dispatch armies along railroad lines. However, the best intentions of the king were not always appreciated by his people. When, in the spring of 1862, the clouds of war seemed to have dispersed, the House of Representatives refused to furnish further means towards the completion of the army organization, and the king needed a stalwart man, true to his king and his country, to stand by him in the great battles fought on the rostrum in the Parliament of the people. This man appeared in the person of Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen. He was a Prussian dyed in the wool; having been invincible upon the student's fighting ground in the university, passing through 27 bloody encounters without a scratch, he entered the arena of public life in 1848 as the king's man, with the firm determina-

tion to stand by Prussia and the House of Hohenzollern with all the energy of his mighty personality, and to fight for Prussia's supremacy over all the German states with the same surety of success which had always characterized him in his contests with men. As representative of Prussia in the Frankfort League of 1857 he had learned to know and to despise the haughtiness of Austria and its intrigues with the small German states, recognizing the necessity of a future war between his country and Austria. He therefore advocated, as the head of the Prussian ministry in 1862, the granting of further means for the completion of the reorganization of the army, uttering the now famous words: "Not by speeches and majority resolutions are the great questions of an age decided—that was the error in '48 and '49—but by blood and iron." But it was only after the severest contests and by compromise that Bismarck obtained the much-coveted millions; and only after Denmark's opposition in Schleswig-Holstein necessitated the united action of both Austria and Prussia in 1864. Duke Frederick of Augustenburg, however, refused after the liberation of the Elb duchies, to accept Prussia's supervision, and demanded the participation of Austria—a fatal request, which led to a complete separation of the two great powers and finally to the decision on the field of battle. Bismarck endeavored to win the smaller North German states over to Prussia, but failed, and now Moltke's work began. The great triumphal march of the newly organized armies of King William through Southern Germany and Austria, the brilliant results on the bloody field of Königgratz in 1866, and the conditions of the Peace of Prague are too well-known to need repetition. The German League of Frankfort was dissolved, Schleswig-Holstein became the sole property of Prussia, and the Southern states had to swear allegiance to the victors. Thus Prussia had become what the best German minds had wished her to be, chief among the purely German states.

Napoleon III. had watched Prussia's rapid progress with a heavy heart; he had to remain a mere spectator since his foolish expedition into Mexico had greatly decimated his army and his

treasury. However, already during the preliminary peace negotiations at Nicholsburg, preceding the Peace of Prague, he had sent the French Ambassador, Count Benedetti, to Bismarck, demanding compensation for the increase of Prussia's power, *i. e.*, desiring the transmission of one of the Rhine provinces, Rhenish Hesse, the Bavarian Palatinate and the cities of Mayence, Saar-Louis and Saarbrücken; in case of a refusal he threatened Prussia with war. But Bismarck's decided answer and his own inability to enter upon further war preparations forced the French Emperor to accept the refusal and to think of other means by which to humiliate Prussia. He therefore made offers to the King of Holland for the purpose of purchasing the Grandduchy of Luxemburg, which since 1866 had been separated from the German league. But Prussia, whose soldiers occupied the fortress of Luxemburg, for the protection of the Rhenish provinces, objected to such a project, and the London treaty of 1867 decided that Napoleon should withdraw his offers and Prussia her soldiers. Another humiliation to Napoleon, he grimly explained: "Bismarck has fooled me, an Emperor of the French dare not allow himself to be fooled!" And forthwith he began to increase and improve his armies. A new army rifle, the chassepot was introduced, the mitrailleuse or gatling gun added to the war implements, horses were purchased, geographical maps of Germany (not of France) distributed among the officers, and Austria was approached for the purpose of a future alliance against Prussia. Napoleon had strong hopes that Southern Germany would not assist Prussia in case of war, that the confiscated Kingdom of Hanover would rebel, and that Italy, which was under obligation to him, as well as Austria and Denmark, would certainly stand by him; besides the French army was, as a matter of course, equal to any emergency. It only remained to find a plausible cause for war, which would not involve Germany as such, but Prussia alone. Bismarck had quietly but very attentively followed Napoleon's movements upon the European chess-board; he had made no claims upon France, had politely declined all offers of an alliance made by France for the sake of increasing



her territory, but had been especially careful that the Prussian army should be prepared at a moment's call to arms. Moltke, with the sure expectation of coming events, had in 1868 traveled incognito through France and its German frontier territory, accompanied by his daughter, who made the most accurate detailed draughts of important military positions, of every turnpike and every creek, thus enabling her father to work out his campaign plans with rare accuracy. Such was the situation in the summer of 1870.

Napoleon's friend and ally, the virtuous Queen Isabella of Spain, had been in the fall of 1868, after a most miserable failure of her policy, dethroned and driven out of the country. The Spaniards offered their crown to Portuguese and Italian princes, but they refused to accept so dangerous a gift, and the Duke of Montpensier, Isabella's brother-in-law, was deterred from accepting it by Napoleon's objection. Among those who as early as 1869 had refused the crown was Prince Leopold von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, the son of the former liberal Cabinet President of King William. The Hohenzollerns are descendants of an old family of noble counts whose ancestral castle is situated in the Swabian Alps, somewhere along the upper Danube. The older branch remained in the ancestral seats and acquired the title of imperial electoral princes. In 1806 they belonged to the Rhinebund and became, by marriage with a Princess Murat, related to the Bonapartes. In 1849 the two Princes of Hechingen and Sigmaringen ceded their land to the Prussian crown. The younger branch obtained in 1200 the title of Burggrafen of Nuremberg; later they came into possession of the now Bavarian districts of Ausbach and Bayreuth and received in 1415 the margravy of Brandenburg as a fief. Thus the Swabian and Prussian Hohenzollern claims a relationship of nearly a thousand years' standing. However, the members of the older branch remained Catholic, while the younger accepted the Reformation; the King of Prussia has always been looked upon as the head of the entire house of Hohenzollern, with merely advisory power. Prince Leopold was married to a Portuguese



princess, and to him, in June, 1870, the request came for the fourth time to become King of Spain. The French government never presented any objections at Madrid, which would have been the simplest means of eradicating the whole plan. Prince Leopold, therefore, accepted the offer, and on the 3d of July, 1870, Europe was made acquainted with the fact. King William, when asked for the consent, as the head of the family, replied that he had no objections to offer to any such choice of the prince.

Profound peace prevailed throughout Europe. King William enjoyed the quiet of the beautiful summer resort of Ems; Bismarck had returned to his Pomeranian estate at Varzin; Moltke spent his vacation at his cherished country seat at Kreisau. All at once, like lightning from a clear sky, the news spread throughout Europe that France had threatened Prussia with war. On the 4th of July the Duc de Gramont, Minister of Foreign Affairs, asked at Berlin for an explanation of Prince Leopold's action; the reply stated that the whole affair had no relation whatever to the Prussian government. On the 6th of July, at a sitting of the French Chambers, the Minister declared that they could under no condition tolerate that a foreign power should place one of its princes upon the throne of Charles V. and thus disturb the political equilibrium of Europe, touching the interests and honor of France; France would do its duty without hesitation and weakness! M. Ernest Picard, formerly French Minister of the Interior, says in an article on the subject, published in *Littell's Living Age*, of August, '92: "The impression of every one versed in diplomatic usage was that the Minister had spoken too freely in dwelling on the wisdom of Prussia and the friendship of Spain. This language touched the patriotic chord, but it was marked by an arrogance that was not calculated to promote negotiation; the minister had sought, above all things, to flatter the national self-esteem and to turn to account the effervescence of public opinion. M. Ernest Picard asked that the document matter should be laid on the table. The Minister of the Interior refused in the name of the Duc de Gramont. At last M. Emile

Olivier, President of the Council, had to intervene to obtain an adjournment." M. Picard continues (I quote him in order to be perfectly impartial in the matter): "Our ambassador, Count Benedetti, armed with instructions from the Duc de Gramont, saw the King of Prussia at Ems on July 9th. The king replied that while he had put no pressure on Prince Leopold to accept the overtures of the Spanish Cabinet, he was determined not to forbid him. He acted not as a sovereign, but as head of the family. He left Prince Leopold freedom of action, and if, in face of the agitation produced in Spain, the candidature was withdrawn, he would approve the decision instead of resisting it, but he would do nothing more, and refused as steadfastly to advise withdrawal as to enforce it." This language in reality amounted to a declaration of inactivity at once unacceptable and hurtful to our dignity. At this time the representative of the Spanish government at Paris, M. Olizaga, sent M. de Stratt on a mission to Prince Antoine of Hohenzollern, father of Prince Leopold, in order to urge him to persuade his son to decline the Spanish throne. M. de Stratt succeeded, and our minister came out of the negotiations with honor. Such was the feeling of Emperor Napoleon on the morning of July 12, when he left M. Cloud and went to the Tuileries to preside over the Council of Ministers. At the Council the renunciation was accepted by the majority of the Ministers, and the Duc de Gramont calculated on announcing it to the chamber at the next day's sitting. However, through some irresponsible persons, the news got into the daily papers, and sarcasm was bestowed with no niggard hand on the Minister, who contented himself with a renunciation from Father Antoine." The Minister tried to stem the tide of opinion by having the following notice inserted in *The Constitutionnel*, the official journal.

"The Hohenzollern prince will not reign over Spain. We ask no more, and we hail with pride the peaceful solution. A great victory which has cost no tear, no drop of blood." But the vast majority of the press repeated that peace would be essentially illusive, shameful, sinister, ridiculous, especially the press of the great centers of population, while complete calm reigned in the

country districts. Napoleon was forced to call a new Council at St. Cloud in the evening of July 12th, in which it was decided that the Comte Benedetti, our Ambassador at Berlin, should ask the King of Prussia to undertake once for all to forbid Prince Leopold to accept the candidature for the throne of Spain. The Duc de Gramont's telegram sent during the night ran: "Say explicitly that we have no ulterior motive, that we do not seek a pretext for war, and that we only seek an honorable road out of a difficulty which is not of our own making." However the king refused to listen to any further parleying on this subject, and finally intimated to Comte Benedetti, by the Minister in attendance, that his Majesty had nothing further to communicate to the Ambassador. The good offices tendered by the Queen of England in the interest of a peaceful solution were immediately crushed by Count Bismarck, and when the legislative body met, on July 13th, our Minister of Foreign Affairs saw that war was unavoidable, and in a sitting of the Council, on the 15th of July, he solemnly announced "that the reserves were called out and a proposition for granting the necessary funds for the carrying on of war was now in order." So for the account of M. Picard. I shall take the liberty of calling another and entirely impartial witness upon the stand. In 1892 an extremely interesting book made its appearance in England under the unassuming title "An Englishman in Paris," written by an intimate English friend of Napoleon III. a frequent visitor to Compiègne and bienvenu in all the ramifications of imperialistic and official circles and courtiers. This book throws a flood of light on the inner life of the French capital during the greater part of Louis Philippe and the whole of the period from his abdication to the end of the Commune, in May, 1871. Perhaps the most prominent figure of his second volume, which concerns itself with the period of the Empire is the Empress. Nobody could have better opportunities of judging of the character of Eugenie, and of the nature and weight of her influence on affairs, social and national alike. It is clear that the author considers the Empress to have exercised the most important individual impression on the des-

tinies of the Second Empire, being directly responsible for its collapse. He describes her marriage to Napoleon, her tyrannical intolerance, her overweening ambition and equally overweening conceit, most impartially, yet most forcibly. As the Parisians held her, whom they contemptuously called the "Spanish Woman," responsible for the failure of the Mexican war, so she seems to have been responsible for the outbreak of the war of 1870-71. In contrast with the statements made above he expresses his convictions that war was decided upon between the imperial couple so early as between the 5th and 6th of the month, and narrates in proof thereof that, early in the afternoon of the 5th of July, Lord Lyons, driving into the courtyard of the British Embassy, beckoned him in and told him that in spite of the animosity of the Duc de Gramont towards Bismarck, who had once laughed him to scorn in a diplomatic transaction, the Emperor would insist upon peace, if only the Empress would leave him alone. Napoleon was fast approaching his death and wished anything but war. However, on the morning of the 6th of July, a third Council of the Ministers was held for the purpose of framing an answer to M. Cockery's interpellation regarding the Hohenzollern candidature. The same afternoon the author of the book met Joseph Ferrari, the intimate of Emile Olivier's brothers, and so a likely man to have exclusive information. "It is all over," said Ferrari, "and unless a miracle happens, we'll have war in a fortnight." "But," remarked the author, "about this time I was positively assured, and on the best authority, that the Emperor was absolutely opposed to anything but a pacific remonstrance." "Your information was perfectly correct," replied Ferrari, "and as late as ten o'clock last night, at the termination of the second Council of Ministers, his sentiment underwent no change. Immediately after that the Empress had a conversation with the Emperor, which I know for certain, lasted till one o'clock in the morning. The result of this conversation is the answer, the text of which you will see directly, and which is tantamount to a challenge to Prussia. Mark my words, the Empress will not cease from troubling until she has driven France

into a war with the only great Protestant power on the continent. It is the Empress who will prove the ruin of France!" The speech which the Duc de Gramont made in the chamber on that very day, as quoted above, only too accurately, proves how well Ferrari was informed. On the 15th of July the Senate unanimously voted 50,000,000 francs to the war budget, which was afterwards confirmed by the legislative body by a majority vote of 245 to 10; among the latter was old Thiers, who called the war a folly.

Already on the evening of the same day the multitudes filled the streets of Paris with cries of: "Down with Prussia!" "Long live the war!" "To Berlin! To Berlin!" On the 19th of July the declaration of war was presented at Berlin, the only written document of the whole question.

All the German people from the North Sea to the Alps, from the Rhine to the Weichsel endorsed the action and conduct of King William and Bismarck in the whole transaction, feeling that his personal affair had touched the national honor. The Southern German states at once joined Prussia, led by Bavaria, whose king issued his call to arms in spite of the Catholic opposition, as early as the 16th of July, only 24 hours after the bill had passed in Paris; Baden and Württemberg followed immediately. In opening the North German Reichstag on the 19th of July, King William said: "If Germany tolerated such violations of her rights and her honor in past centuries she did so because, in her distraction, she did not know how strong she was. To-day, when the inner bond of a rightful unity begun in the Wars of Liberation from Napoleon's tyranny unites the German nations with increasing harmony; to-day, when Germany's preparation no longer offers a breach to the enemy, Germany possesses within herself the determination and the strength to refute renewed French violations. We shall fight after the example of our forefathers for our liberty and for our right against the violence of foreign usurpers, and in this struggle, in which we seek nothing but the enduring peace for Europe, God will be with us, as He was with our fathers." Parliament voted unanimously 120 million

thalers for the war, Crown Prince Frederick William, the idol of the people, the pupil of Moltke, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Southern army; Prussians, Bavarians, Würtembergians and Saxons marched side by side, filled with the same enthusiasm, in the bloody conflict. Moltke's plan was to mass his troops in the Palatinate in order to prevent the French from invading South Germany, to put off operations against the French capital to the very last, to draw the hostile armies away from the rich South and to force them into the narrow territory of the North, and especially to attack immediately and always with large numbers. He carried out his plan most accurately, aided by the blindness of his opponents.

With the hasty declaration of war the Germans expected a rapid aggressive advance of the French along the Rhine, but they did not seem to be in a very great hurry, so that the various German armies had time enough to take their respective positions undisturbedly; the first army corps of 60,000 men under General Von Steinmetz occupied the right wing in Southern Rhenish Prussia in the direction of Saarbrücken; it was followed by the second army of 194,000 strong under the command of Prince Frederick Charles occupying the center of the Bavarian Palatinate along the southern passes of the Hartz mountains; the third army 130,000 strong, commanded by the Crown Prince of Prussia and comprising two Prussian and two Bavarian corps, together with the forces of Würtemberg and Baden, constituted the left wing, stationed in the neighborhood of the city of Landau. The three armies formed a west-eastern column from Saarbrücken to Landau, with a front of 12 miles and numbering 384,000 men, numerically far superior to the French forces.

The French plan supposed that the German army would expect the first attack from behind the strongly fortified Rhine region; the French were to cross the Rhine below Strassburg and thus separate the Southern from the Northern German army. In order to carry out such a plan the French commander ought to have massed all his forces near Strassburg; instead of that, however, Napoleon distributed his men over eight widely separated posi-

tions. Near the German frontier in a west-easterly direction opposite Saarbrücken General Frossard was stationed; near Bitsch General Failly; near Strassburg the most famous general of the Empire, MacMahon, with an advance guard near Weissenburg; far away from the scene of action, and without any opponent along the Swiss frontier, near Belfort, General Felix Douay had massed his forces. Still further in the interior the Imperial Guards were stationed; General Bourbaki near Nancy, Marshall Bazaine near Metz, General Ladmirault near Diedenhofen along the Moselle, and still further back in the fortifications of Châlons Marshall Canrobert. Furthermore the various regiments had proceeded to their various positions, without waiting for the reserved forces, the ending of which created a terrible disorder, especially since in many cases the most necessary equipments were wanting. Thus the much lauded Army of the Rhine consisted of 300,000 men, or 80,000 less than the German, distributed over eight widely separate places.

France did not succeed in gaining allies. Bismarck had secured the neutrality of Russia; Austria feared Russia if it should join France, and Denmark was checked by the three German army corps stationed along the northern coast and the decided victories of the Germans right in the beginning; only Italy was willing to invade Bavaria, provided the French would cede the temporal possessions of the papal power, but Eugenia could not acquiesce to such a compromise, and the war had to be fought out as an honest duel between Germany and France.

In the meantime the excitement in Paris had reached the high-water mark; everywhere the question was heard: Is our army not yet on its way to Berlin? Something had to be done. Therefore, Emperor Napoleon, accompanied by his 14-year-old son, left his capital on the 28th of July, in order to take charge of his forces, transferring the responsibilities of the government to the Empress during his absence. On the 2d of August three French divisions, under Frossard, marched against the Prussian frontier city of Saarbrücken, occupied by a few companies of Hohenzollern infantry and Rhenish Uhlans under Lieutenant-



Colonel von Pestel. They wisely withdrew, allowing the enemy to triumphantly enter the city and to occupy it for at least one afternoon, for towards evening the French troops retreated upon the Spichern heights, happy to have once at least stepped upon German soil as victors; henceforth they should only do so as prisoners. This insignificant encounter lasted for about three hours. Emperor Napoleon was present with his son Louis, but returned to Metz after sending the following dispatch to the Empress: "Louis has received his baptism of fire. He was remarkably cool and undismayed. The Prussians offered but little resistance; Louis and I were where the bullets fell thickest. Louis picked one up and put it in his pocket, and the soldiers wept over his coolness. We lost an officer and ten men. Napoleon."

The joy over this victory was unbounded in Paris. However, the French commander-in-chief was in absolute ignorance of the movements and strength of his opponents and was therefore at a loss what to do; a greater concentration of the scattered forces seemed necessary; for that purpose MacMabon was summoned to Metz to participate in a council of war. In the meantime King William, Bismarck, Moltke and Roon had arrived on the scene of action; the left wing of the great army, under the command of the Crown Prince of Prussia, crossed the frontier and attacked the fortified city of Weissenburg. The French soldiers were just preparing their scanty breakfast when the first Bavarian cannon ball disturbed the arrangement of their coffee pots. The surprise was complete, since not even a single outpost had been stationed along the lines, and with an enthusiastic hurrah the 4th Bavarian division advanced against the fortress, followed by the 5th and 11th Prussian corps and the 3d Bavarian division, directing their onslaught against the strongly fortified Gaisberg, occupied by the African Turcos. About half past one o'clock Weissenburg fell, after a most terrible encounter, into the hands of the Bavarians, while the Prussians became masters of the Gaisberg, the king's own grenadiers headed by Major von Kaisenberg, taking, under a veritable rain of bullets, the castle crowning



the hill, after the loss of at least a-half dozen of their leaders. General Douay, the French commander-in-chief, was killed, and the remnant of his decimated forces fled southward. 1,500 Germans were numbered among the dead. The crown prince likewise turned southward, but was met by the Feld-Marshal MacMahon at the head of a large army, stationed near Woerth and extending to the villages of Elsasshausen and Froschweiler. The fight, commenced by the outposts, gradually changed into a bloody battle on the 6th of August, in which the entire third Prussian army was involved. Orders were given to the 5th corps under Kirchbach to advance against the enemy's center at Froschweiler, and to the Bavarians and Württembergians to attack the right and left respectively. These orders were carried out with great precision. General von Blumenthal, chief of the great staff, watch in hand, pointed to the minute when the rise of smoke should indicate that his orders had been carried out. But the hand had not reached the number when the thunder of the cannons verified his expectations. The chief aim of the Germans was to occupy Woerth, cross the small stream beyond and take the neighboring hills, covered with orchards, vineyards and hop plantations, by storm. In the meantime MacMahon played billiards in the mansion of headquarters; he won the game, but lost the battle. The German onslaught was irresistible, first Woerth, then Elsasshausen, were taken by storm. In vain did the heroic French cuirassiers charge, across underbrush, ditches, hedges, the Prussian infantry. The horrible whizzing of many thousands of bullets drowned the gallant cry of "Vive la France!" and the few returning horsemen rushed into the sabres of Prussian hussars. At last Froschweiler turns into a mass of burning débris. MacMahon orders a last attack of his gallant cuirassiers, to be led by one of his personal friends. "It is sure death, general," his friend replied. "It is true," was MacMahon's answer, "but what can we do! Embrace me, dear friend!" and in a few minutes men and horses were swept from the ground without ever having seen the faces of their enemies. MacMahon covered his face and wept; he, the Prince of Malakoff, the Duke of Ma-

genta, the most famous general of the Empire, was thoroughly beaten, his army put to flight, one part seeking refuge behind the walls at Strassburg; another and larger one rapidly fleeing westward. Ten thousand lay on the field of battle either dead or wounded; 6,000 were prisoners, one eagle, 4 standards, 28 cannons and 5 gattling guns were taken; 500 German officers, and 10,000 of the men were numbered among the dead and the wounded; but victory was theirs and the dying soldiers exclaimed, "We are dying for the Fatherland; we are proud of our victorious army!" and when the 30 or more music bands began to play "Die Wacht am Rhein," many thousand voices accompanied the inspiring tune, all finally joining in fervent prayer and thanksgiving to Him who had given them the victory.

The division, consisting of Baden troops, received orders to march south and to besiege Strassburg, the commander of which, General Uhrich, a German by birth, refused to surrender. Thus from the 9th of August till the 27th of September the beautiful city was bombarded and stood the terrors of a siege. Crown Prince Frederick William marched through the defenseless passes of the Vosges mountains and entered Nancy on the 16th of August. At the same time the second, or chief army under Prince Frederick Charles, moved likewise southward, but found no enemy. Only its right wing, in touch with the first army under Steinmetz, arrived at noon of the same 6th of August at the river Saar. Frossard had fortified himself, after withdrawing from Saarbrücken, upon the steep heights of Spichern, which seemed invincible. The Prussians had not intended to begin a battle and did therefore not arrive *en masse*. But regiment after regiment was sent up the steep mountain side until after heavy losses they succeeded in forcing the enemy to recede, the victors losing 1,800, the defeated 4,000 men. In each case, at Weissenburg, at Woerth and at Spichern, the Germans were the aggressors, the French choosing the defensive. The news of these defeats created general consternation and wrath at Paris. The easy-going Olivier was the first victim of this wrath, followed by Lebœuf, Minister of War, and Gramont, the great talker. Count Mon-

tauban-Palikao, who had won doubtful laurels in China, became Minister of War. Napoleon did not dare to return to Paris under the circumstances, but stayed with his son in Metz, whither the scattered French army took its flight. When King William entered the enemies' territory he issued a proclamation to the French people, in which he declared that he urged war with the soldiers, not with the citizens, promising personal protection to all who remained peaceable. On the 12th of August Napoleon transferred the chief command of the armies to Marshall Bazaine, who had gained his reputation in Mexico. His intention was to leave the invincible fortress of Metz in charge of a barely sufficient garrison force and to march with the five army corps concentrated at Metz, westward through Verdun to the strongly fortified camp of Châlons sur Marne in order to unite here with MacMahon's forces, and thus to accumulate an army of 300,000 men, ready to prevent the Germans from reaching Paris. The plan might have succeeded if the French army had been quicker in its movements, but on the 14th Prince Frederick Charles drove them back to Metz. In the battle of Colomby alone the Germans lost 5,000 men, 1,400 more than the French. West of Metz, about 3,000 yards apart, there are the three villages of Mars la Tour, Vionville and Rezonville. Here all the French corps were stationed, ready to march off. To prevent this at any cost was the great problem of the German leaders. The third corps of the Brandenburgians under Alvensleben furiously attacked the much larger but unconcerned and unsuspecting forces of the enemy, and for twelve hours this most terrible and most memorable of all the battles was waged with alternate success. The villages of Mars la Tour and Vionville were taken by storm and retained, but the resistance could not last long, since Canrobert gave orders that all his overwhelmingly larger forces should enter the battle. Longingly the brave Brandenburgians look out for assistance. There, all at once the trumpets are heard and the earth trembles with the sound of quickly approaching horses like the rushing of a mighty wind, they are coming, the cavalry brigade of Baden, the Magdeburg cuirassiers under Count

Schmettan and the regiment of Brandenburgian Uhlans under Major von Dollen. The orders are to clear the way through the woods, and shouting the old battle cry: "With God for king and country!" with sabres drawn and lances in position, men and horses rush upon the enemy. "Ein Blutritt war's ein Todesritt." After riding down two lines of battle orders are given to retreat, but only one trumpeter can be found, and as he puts the trumpet to his mouth a shrill, wailing, complaining sound is heard; the instrument, too, was pierced by bullets. Out of six regiments only two returned, but the point was gained; the enemy had to retire behind the wall of the fortress. The same bravery distinguished the dragoon guards at Mars la Tour; the much-longed-for reinforcements had finally arrived and the left wing of the Germans was re-established. Once more the cavalry is ordered to an attack, this time Westphalian cuirassiers, Hanover Uhlans, dragoons and Magdeburg hussars began their attack against the whole right wing of the French. As late as a quarter of seven the most celebrated and bloody cavalry fight of the whole campaign begins; through the great clouds of dust the German battle cry, "Hurrah! Hurrah!" is heard. We witness a terrible clashing of arms, a surging to and fro, a mass of glittering lances and swords, and finally the wild flight of the enemy. The German cavalry had gained the day. Bazaine had to retreat towards Metz, but the loss on either side amounted to more than 1,600 men.

It is hard to understand why Bazaine whose road to Châlons was by no means enclosed, did not at once collect his remaining forces of cavalry, infantry and artillery for a last dash towards liberty, especially since the Germans were well-nigh exhausted. Moltke, whose book on the war I follow as the best authority, says that only political reasons could have induced Bazaine to stay at Metz. Instead he offered two days afterwards, on the 18th, a new battle, west of Metz, called the battle of *St. Privat-Gravelotte*, the position of the French corps of Canrobert, of Ladmirault, of Lebœuf and of Frossard seemed formidable and inaccessible; fortified behind a parallel series of hills French

infantry and artillery, almost invisible to the enemy, poured forth volleys of the deadly lead with telling effect, for not a single tree was seen far and wide along the plains and hills which the aggressive Germans had to traverse. King William was present in person close to the line of battle. Moltke himself led the second army corps, late towards evening, triumphantly against the forces of Frossard, which, almost sure of victory, had changed from the defensive to the offensive, determined to reconquer Gravelotte. But Moltke and darkness forced them to a hasty retreat. The battle of St. Privat-Gravelotte decided the three days' fight of two great nations in favor of the Germans. On either side about 180,000 men had taken part in the engagement, the French occupying by far the best positions, which their opponents had to take by storm and without any shelter in almost every case. No wonder that the Germans lost 20,000 men, while the French only counted 13,000. To-day the whole region between St. Privat and Gravelotte is one continuous graveyard. Think of three formidable battles within five days! The problem before the victors was now to enclose Metz, with its 173,000 French soldiers and its formidable forts placed in a circumference of thirty miles around Metz, in such a way as to make escape impossible; ordinary military measures were here of no avail; only want of food would compel surrender. Prince Frederick Charles with a part of the second army, numbering 150,000, undertook the task while Crown Prince Albert of Saxony became the head of a newly formed fourth army, which, together with the third, commanded by the Crown Prince of Prussia, was to move westward in order to attack the last and only free French army under MacMahon. King William accompanied both as commander-in-chief.

After his defeat at Woerth, Marshall MacMahon had retreated to the fortified camp near Châlons, where all the scattered French forces collected, numbering finally four army corps and two cavalry divisions. With him was Napoleon, who had left Metz before the great battles began; his condition was pitiable in the extreme; his authority counted for nothing, since the Empress reigned in Paris, and Bazaine and MacMahon were the

chiefs of the army. He did not dare to show himself before his soldiers, for they only mocked him, while his return to Paris meant revolution. MacMahon had intended to concentrate his forces around Paris, from where he could most advantageously carry on his operations, but the Empress and the Minister of War, Count Palikao, insisted that he should endeavor to unite with Bazaine. Unwillingly he dispatched his troops via Rheims northward to Rethel, in order to cross the Meuse in quick marches and to move southeastward toward Verdun for the purpose of uniting with Bazaine. The plan was extremely bold; it carried the last of the armies close to the Belgian frontier; in case of a lost battle the army would either have to surrender or to enter Belgian territory. The success of the plan depended upon MacMahon's timely crossing of the Meuse as well as upon Bazaine's escape from Metz; either was impossible. In the meantime the third and fourth German armies proceeded westward towards Châlons, always headed by a division of cavalry wrapped in an immense cloud of dust; the camps at Châlons was empty, and King William established his headquarters somewhat south of the city of Châlons at Bar le Duc, where news was received by way of London that MacMahon's army stood at Rheims, waiting orders to march eastward towards Metz. Moltke remarks in his book, in reference to these informations: "It is always a serious matter to change a well wrought-out plan for a new, unprepared one, unless extreme necessity demands it. Rumors and unreliable information can never justify the changes of a march route. In a war we only reckon with probabilities, and it is always most probable that the enemy will choose the right measure. From that point of view I could not expect that MacMahon would expose Paris and march along the Belgian frontier toward Metz. Such an undertaking seemed strange, even adventurous, but it was possible." Moltke rightly judged the French when he believed the adventurous to be probable. He at once gave orders that the two armies should move northward towards Sedan in order to prevent MacMahon from crossing the river Meuse. With ape-like celerity, though marching

through the pathless forest of the Argonnes and constantly fighting against the omnipresent Franc-tireurs the work was accomplished. On the 30th of August the advance guard of MacMahon under general De Failly was surprised; measures of precaution were never the strength of the French, and they were completely routed. The French chief found it necessary to retreat within the walls of Sedan; his soldiers, known for their courage and bravery, were worn out and discouraged; long fruitless marches and poor provisions, together with the succession of unfortunate encounters, had broken their physical and moral strength. This army took its position to the north, east and south of Sedan, protected in the rear by the river Meuse and the old, but poorly situated fortress; towards the east and north the two valleys of the Givonne and Floing brooks offer the strongest fortification, but the attack was to come from the west.

Early in the morning of the 1st of September the world-famous battle of Sedan began. Protected by the morning fog, the Bavarians, under General von der Tann, crossed upon two pontoon bridges the Meuse, and attacked at Bazeilles the right wing of the French army, while the Saxons took La Manconne further to the north. Here MacMahon was severely wounded by the bursting of a bombshell, and General Ducrot took his place. At the same time General de Wimpffen arrived from Algiers in obedience to the orders of the Minister of War, which conveyed to him the appointment of commander-in-chief. He considered a retreat utterly impossible, but was of the opinion that, by massing all the forces against the Bavarians and Saxons, a union with Bazaine might yet be accomplished. The proposition of General de Wimpffen was accepted and carried out, but there appeared all at once in the upper Givonne valley the Prussian guards, who had marched all night in order to complete the iron ring that encircled MacMahon's forces. All the villages of the Givonne valley were in the hands of the Germans, and upon the heights above and behind them their batteries began their music of thunder and lightning, accompanied by volleys of deadly shot striking into the very midst of the hostile army. Now the



**B**reak for Metz was no longer possible, likewise a retreat to **M**ezieres. The army of the Crown Prince of Prussia had started **d**uring the night to cross the Meuse shortly below Sedan and now **a**ppeared north of the fortress near Floing and Illy; all heights **w**ere occupied by artillery, and at noon the French army was **c**ompletely encircled. In vain the brave cavalry of General Gallip**e**r tried to break through the Northern German line; his furious **o**nslaught was met by the rapid firing of German infantry; at **s**hort distance the whole field was covered with wounded and **d**ead horsemen. Finally only the woods of Givonne were left as **t**he only place of comparative safety, but it did not last long **a**gainst the furious cannonade of the German artillery. The French soldiers gradually gave up all hopes of ever gaining a single position; by the hundreds they allowed themselves to be taken prisoners, or they rushed into the little town of Sedan, where they expected a place of safety, but no sooner had they reached the streets of the place when the bombshells began to play upon the unfortunate city; the columns of fire began to rise towards heaven, and at about half-past five the white flags were seen upon the towers of the city, indicating the willingness to surrender.

King William had, surrounded by his suit, witnessed the battle from a neighboring elevation. Bathed in sunshine lay Sedan below, but the beauty of nature was marred by the wretched work of man; the king witnessed the gallant attack of Gallip**e**r and his heroic death at the head of his riders, witnessed how the German batteries closed nearer and around Sedan, how the dissolved and confused regiments streamed into the town, how Sedan and its villages became a mass of fire, and yet no sign of a capitulation. It was then that he sent Lieutenant-Colonel von Bronsart with the white flag into the city to ask its surrender. Napoleon himself received him and led him to General Wimpffen, a German by birth. At about 7 o'clock General Reille presented a letter from Napoleon to King William, which read as follows: "Sir Brother: Since I could not find death at the head of my troops I place my sword into the hands of your majesty."



I am your majesty's well-wishing brother. Napoleon." The king replied, after a short consultation with the Crown Prince, Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, etc.: "Sir Brother: Regretting the circumstances under which we meet, I accept your majesty's sword and beseech you to appoint one of your officers with power to act in matters touching the surrender of the army which so bravely fought under your command. I have appointed General von Moltke for this purpose. I am your majesty's well-wishing brother. William." After much parleying on the part of the French and a personal interview between Napoleon and Bismarck, whom shortly before the former had called a man not to be taken serious, the conditions of surrender were finally agreed upon and signed. 1. The French army of Sedan, numbering 104,000 men, with one marshal, 50 generals and 2,800 officers, become prisoners. 2. All generals and officers are to go free upon giving their word of honor in writing henceforth not to operate against Germany. 3. All arms, standards, eagles, cannons, ammunition, etc., are to be transferred to a German commission. 4. The fortress of Sedan is placed under the command of King William. 5. The officers and men not included under the two are disarmed and taken to Germany. Wimpffen received permission to return to his relatives in Würtemberg. Such a surrender the world had never witnessed before, and the celebration of this victory in Germany was worthy the occasion. Napoleon was sent to the castle of *Wilhelmshöhe*, near Cassel, where he had time to reflect upon the vanity of this world's greatness. His son had been sent over Belgium to England shortly after his father had left Metz. Not many days after the fall of Sedan, France was again declared a Republic, governed by a committee of twelve, among whom the lawyer Gambetta and Jules Favre were the most prominent. Empress Eugenia fled from Paris in the carriage of her American dentist, Dr. Evans, from Lancaster county, who brought her safely to Belgium, whence she proceeded to England to meet her son, and where she still resides, a heart-broken widow, for Napoleon died already on the 9th of January 1873, and his son Louis was killed in 1879, during the war against the Zulus—*Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgerichte*.

From Sedan the 2d and 3d German armies turned westward towards Paris, through the richest French territory and upon the most beautiful of French public roads. Paris, the center of European culture and art, the Mecca of all foreign tourists, had been turned into the most formidable of the world's fortresses. The city itself is surrounded by a strong, unsurmountable wall, to which had been added some 18 equally strong forts, each in itself a little fortress and extending in a circumference of 55 miles. This gigantic mass of stones was defended from within by an army of 300,000 men, consisting of the remnant of the escaped regular troops under General Vinoy, together with 115,000 Mobile Guards and 130,000 National Guards; 2,600 fortress cannons plus 124 batteries threatened death and destruction to the approaching enemy. Towards the end of September an army of 250,000 Germans had taken possession of the environment of the French capital; King William's headquarters were located at Versailles, where, 200 years before, the glorious Louis XIV. the destroyer of Germany, had ruled and died.

The Government of National Defense had appointed the greatest orator of France, *Jules Favre*, Minister of Foreign Affairs. He at once issued a proclamation in which he declared the King of Prussia responsible for the continuation of the infamous war, which the Empire had begun, assuring the world that the Republic was determined not to yield an inch of her land nor a stone of her fortresses. Thiers, the diplomatist par excellence, visited at the same time the European courts in order to procure their intervention in behalf of his country. Bismarck replied, emphasizing the fact that in more than twenty wars with France, Germany had never been the aggressor, and demanding for future protection the territory of the two fortresses of Strassburg and Metz. Jules Favre then had a personal interview with Bismarck, using all the persuasive power of his wonderful eloquence to convince the German Chancellor that the French Republic had nothing in common with the French Empire, promising that her future policy should be that of reconciliation if Germany would only be satisfied with money, all the money they had, but

Bismarck's stern logic was never moved by any oratorical effusion : he reckoned with cold facts and repeated his demands. However the provisional government vehemently rejected them, and furiously exclaimed : " Not an inch of our territory ! " Its threats were of no avail. On the 9th of September the fortress of Laon capitulated ; on the 23d, Toul ; on the 27th, Strassburg, the beautiful city, after death and destruction had done their utmost to make further resistance impossible. Only Paris and Metz remained obstinate. By means of carrier pigeons and balloons the capital communicated with the provinces constantly, appealing to the patriotism of all loyal sons of France to assist in the creation of new means of defense. Finally, Leon Gambetta, Minister of Internal Affairs, the ablest and most passionate man of the provisional government, having left Paris in a balloon, appeared in person at the second seat of the government in Tours, in order to take charge of the war operations outside of the capital. Moltke says of him and his undertaking : " France had to pay dearly for its energetic but dilettantic war methods. With rare ability and persistence, Gambetta placed the whole population of the country under arms, but he lacked a uniform plan to organize and guide them. With but little preparation and poorly supplied with the necessary armament, they were sent out with unmerciful cruelty, to struggle disconnectedly against an enemy whose firm discipline and leadership crushed their bravery and devotion. He is responsible for having continued the bloodshed without changing the fate of France." The new Army of the Loire under General La Motterouge was completely routed by the Bavarians under General von der Tann. Orleans, the key to Southern France, was taken possession of and the fortress of Soissons surrendered, thus opening the communication between Paris and Rheims. On the 18th of October the first city near Paris, Chateaudun, was taken by storm, but set on fire by the irregular Franc-tireurs, the first serious indication of the coming civil war. For three months these minor fights around Paris continued, the French cannons, in the spirit of wanton destruction, demolishing the most beautiful properties still left intact. The most inter-

esting and at the same time most important occurrence during these days of tedious waiting is the surrender of Metz on the 27th of October, induced by the utter want of provisions, 200,000 soldiers laid down their arms within the walls of the fortress and left the city amidst painful silence in six directions, received by six Prussian army corps, which took them to the German frontier, whence they scattered, a second migration of nations over the Fatherland. History nowhere records a similar case, a mighty army surrendering an inaccessible fortress. Bazaine joined Napoleon at Wilhelmshöhe, but was afterwards placed under arrest for treason, and before a French military court sentenced to death; sentence was afterwards commuted to 20 years' imprisonment, but he escaped to Spain.

During its first three months up to the surrender of Metz the war of 1870 appears like a spectacular drama of melancholy grandeur. The hasty declaration of war is followed by two weeks of anxious expectation during which the armies are gathering along the Rhine; then follow the three first battles; again ten days pass in fearful silence, to be broken by the thunderbolts near Metz; another week of uncertain movements ends with the fall of Sedan and the Empire—a grand but awful tragedy. Then for two weeks the tramp, tramp, tramp of regiments is heard on the highway to Paris, finally the surrender of Strassburg and Metz and the migration of prisoners into Germany. But when expectations for peace were ripe, we find a second war at hand, that was to last four months. The war *with the French* people, directed solely against the German army around Paris and instigated and inspired by a single man, Leon Gambetta, a second Napoleon I. in principle, in character and in mind. We may call his undertaking and his methods insane, but we must nevertheless admire his iron will, his genius, his patriotism. Aided by faithful and honest England—honest because it had promised to remain neutral—he armed within a few weeks 600,000 men and procured 1,400 cannons. I shall not enter into the details of this new war, but simply mention that they regained Orleans, for a time at least, and thence proceeded

against the German army from four different directions, from the south, the west, the north, the southeast and from around Paris itself, so that the beleaguered army had constantly to struggle against two enemies, the one inside, the other outside of Paris; and only the lack of training on the part of the new aggressors, as well as the unusually severe winter of 1871, saved the Germans from serious consequences. Moreover, the Metz army had been ordered to the northern part of France to begin operations against the smaller fortresses; they succeeded in taking possession of Verdun, Amiens, Diedenhofen, La Faye, Verdun and Evreux, while the army of Strassburg under General von Werder operated against the fortresses along the upper Rhine, occupying Schlettstadt, Breisach and Dijon, and enclosing the formidable rocky fortress of Belfort, on the Swiss frontier. Thus the army around Paris had solely to depend upon its own resources. But the numerous efforts on the part of the Parisian army to break through the German lines, as well as the heroic aggression of the Army of the Loire under Chanzy, failed with the three battles at Le Mans between the 10th and 12th. So the ingenious plans of Gambetta to detract the attention from Paris to an invasion into South Germany, with the help of Garibaldi and with an army of 100,000 men, did not succeed because General Bourbaki, the ablest of all the French commanders, was defeated by only 45,000 Germans under Werder, and thus the fate of the mighty war was decided. The South German army was saved; Belfort's siege continued. Pursued in the rear by Werder and confronted by the new South German army under Manteuffel, Bourbaki found it now impossible to reach Dijon and to unite with Garibaldi. In his despair he attempted to commit suicide, but failed. General Clinchart took charge of the French troops and crossed the Jura mountains in the dead of winter. Over almost impassable roads of snow and the ice-covered Alps the general hoped to reach the frontier city of Pontarlier, whence he expected to march south, but when his tired, hungry and rebellious troops arrived at Pontarlier it was learned that escape to Southern France was impossible, so that the rest of the army, still number-

ing 90,000 men, resolved to cross the Swiss frontier and to surrender their arms. Two French armies imprisoned in Germany, a third one inclosed in its own capital, and the fourth disarmed upon foreign soil!

During these dark and bitterly cold days of January, '71, when the German people had their attention riveted upon the battlefield before Paris, a great historical event—perhaps the most glorious fruit of the great war—took place at the headquarters of Versailles, namely the establishment of a new German Empire. In order to prevent a German union the war had been instigated, but what Napoleon had worked so hard to prevent was now accomplished; all Germany stood together in arms at the great watch on the Rhine, and the throne of the Bonapartes, cemented with blood, had crumbled into pieces. The people in North and South Germany publicly demanded the incorporation of Alsace and Lorraine into a new united German Empire; and after preliminary friendly discussions largely in reference to the rights and privileges of individual states, the North and South German Houses of Representatives consented to the official proclamation of the new German Empire on the 1st of January, 1871. This great event was followed by the offer of the imperial crown to the Hohenzollerns, rejected in '49 by Frederick William IV. with the words: "An imperial crown can only be won on fields of battle." The time had arrived; at the head of the German people there stood a strong, firm character who had obtained his position in the struggle against the Frankish usurper and his African hordes. After much hesitation on the part of King William as well as on the part of Bismarck, the former accepted the title and the crown. On the 18th of January, 1871, in the great Mirror Hall at the Castle of Versailles, the solemn proclamation of the new German Empire took place, exactly 170 years after King Frederick I. had placed the crown as the first King of Prussia upon his own head. A large number of German princesses, generals and Ministers, together with the representatives of all the German regiments from around Paris, with their flags and standards, were present.

After divine service King William read the proclamation of the Empire. Chancellor Count Bismarck followed with a proclamation to the German people, and the Grand Duke of Baden closed with cheers for the new Emperor. Thus the dream of the best men in German lands was fulfilled. In the year 1870 the French lost an Emperor; the year 1871 gave to the Germans an Emperor and an Empire—no longer the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, but a truly national structure, founded by the omnipotent will of the German people and the free consent of her princes. And the fact that all this happened amidst the splendor of the greatest French castle, where many a private expedition against Germany had been planned, proved the historical prerogative of the venerable bearer of the new German crown. Upon the field of battle German unity and the German imperial crown had been welded.

And now to the surrender of Paris. With the beginning of January the German artillery had begun a fearful cannonade against the forts. Upon thousands of wagons the huge bombshells had arrived and were piled up mountain high. After the complete destruction and ruin of the forts, the city itself was bombarded, creating consternation and terror everywhere, and forcing the beleaguered troops to another sortie on the 19th of January. Ninety thousand French troops fought against 22,000 Germans, but with a loss of nearly 4,000 men the former had to retreat behind the walls of Paris. The last attempt of a break for liberty had failed, and General Trochu resigned his position as commander-in-chief of the army. The mob began to ransack the city of Paris, French fought against French, the end had come. Moreover, the most dreaded of all enemies, hunger, had established its supreme reign in the great capital, followed by the unfailing satellites, disease and pestilence. One ounce of horse meat and ten ounces of bread were the best and the most that could be obtained per head; dogs, cats and rats were considered delicacies. Finally the animals of the Zoölogical Garden were sacrificed on the altar of patriotism. A pair of camels were sold at from 4,000 to 5,000 francs, the two elephants at 27,000 francs;



a pound of elephant meat cost from 25 to 30 francs, a pound from the trunk 40 francs ; a bear was sold at 500 francs, two porcupines at 100, etc. But all that was only for rich gourmands. Horse meat was sold toward the end of the siege at 5 francs a pound, dog meat at 8, a cat at 15, a rabbit at 50, a turkey at 150, an egg at 5, a rat at 2, a pound of butter at 160, a cabbage head at 60. Under such circumstances it required more than good nature to stay in Paris. The government was finally forced to surrender. Jules Favre agreed with Bismarck and Moltke upon an armistice of three weeks, on the 28th of January, for the purpose of allowing the national government time to present the whole question to a National Assembly to be elected and called to decide upon the condition of surrender and peace. This Assembly was to meet in Bordeaux. All the forts are to be delivered up to the enemy, as well as the troops on land and water and their entire armament. The city of Paris pays within two weeks 200,000,000 francs. But Paris was not yet to be occupied by the Germans. Gambetta was enraged over such conditions ; he knew that there were still over 500,000 men under arms, and he was determined to continue the struggle to the bitter end, but his persistence led to his resignation. On the 16th of February Thiers was elected President of the new government by the Bordeaux Assembly, and his sole aim was to obtain peace even at the price of the victors. Alsace and Lorraine, with Strassburg, and Metz, had to be given up, a part of Paris was to be occupied by 30,000 German soldiers until peace was ratified, and 5,000,000,000 francs of war indemnity were to be paid by France. The preliminary peace was signed at Versailles on the 26th of February with the following additional conditions: The first 1,000,000,000 francs is to be paid within the year 1871, the rest within three years after the ratification of peace. The Germans are to vacate Paris and the forts on the left side of the Seine, then gradually the various provinces of France. Six departments in the East, together with Belfort, which surrendered on the 18th of February, remain occupied by not more than 50,000 Germans until the full indemnity is paid. Immediately after the acceptance of preliminary



peace by the National Assembly the final negotiations are to be entered upon at Brussels. The armistice is extended till the 12th of March.

The most painful of all conditions was the entrance of the German army into the holy, invincible city of Paris; the most renowned and beautiful parts of the city around the Elysean fields were to be occupied by 30,000 German soldiers. On the 1st of March the Emperor William, surrounded by his splendid suite of generals and princes, entered at the head of his troops the Bois de Boulogne greeted at its entrance by the triumphal arch of Napoleon I. established *à toutes les glories de la France*. The Parisians received them with silent but wrathful countenances, submitting unwillingly to an enforced hospitality which they hated to offer the enemy. More than 50,000 soldiers of all kinds visited the city unarmed in order to enjoy its treasures of art and to have a general good time. But these well merited pleasures only lasted a little over a day, for the Assembly at Bordeaux accepted the conditions of peace with an overwhelming majority on the 1st of March, and on the 2d the documents were signed by both parties, so that the German troops had to leave Paris in the early morning of the 3d of March. King William sent the following dispatch to the Empress in Berlin: "So far the great work is completed, wrought by the victorious struggles of seven months, thanks to the bravery, devotion and perseverance of our incomparable army in all its parts, and thanks to the self-sacrificing spirit of the Fatherland. The Lord of hosts has everywhere visibly blessed our undertaking and granted us this honorable peace. To Him be honor! To the army and the Fatherland my most heartfelt gratitude!"

The final peace negotiations were definitely terminated on the 6th of May, in Frankfort-on-the-Main, with slight changes in the details of the conditions. While Germany was celebrating its glorious victories, laying wreaths of laurels upon the graves of her 130,000 sons killed during the war and distributing honors and possessions to those who had inaugurated and wrought out the great plans, France descended deeper and deeper into the

ire of her misery. The mob of Paris, called the National Guards, was allowed to keep its arms against the warning of Bismarck; as soon as the Germans had left they took possession of the city, barricaded the streets and declared war on the new government. A new act in the great drama began, the civil war. Marshal MacMahon took Paris, at the head of an army of 80,000 men, inch by inch; the Communists, enraged at their defeat, set fire to the most beautiful buildings of the holy city, burning down the Palais Royal, the Tuileries and the City Hall. Fully eight days the struggle had lasted when the last fortification on the Hill of Cheamont was taken by storm, MacMahon having lost over 7,000 of his soldiers. Such was the aftermath of the siege by the barbarian Germans. Only after the Commune was completely overthrown, the new government was fully established. On the 31st of August, 1871, Thiers was elected President of the French Republic; after his resignation in 1873 MacMahon followed, likewise resigning in 1879, as did his successor, the honest citizen, Grévy, in 1887. Carnot, the fourth President, was murdered in 1894; his successor, Casimir Perier abdicated after a short time. Of the present incumbent of the French Presidency not little can be said. Thus the Republic continues; neither the Orleansists nor Bonapartists have ability enough to establish the monarchy. The great men of 1870-71 are dead; let us hope to find that the Republic may last, increasing in the virtues of its Huguenot stock in earnest endeavors for peace and in works of good will toward men.

## II.

### GLADSTONE'S BUTLER.\*

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#### (a) ANALOGY THE FOUNDATION OF REASONING.

All Reasoning except Demonstrative derives its entire cogency from Analogy. For it is the comparison between the knowledge derived from the facts already known, and that we are seeking to establish in the new domain we are investigating. There can be no step taken in advance without a basis on which to stand, and the certainty of our progress depends upon the similarity of the ground before us to that already passed over.

There are no two things in the realm of material nature which are the same. They may resemble in all degrees even to the extent of being indiscernible. But the matter of which they are composed and the space they occupy must of necessity be different. Hence nothing can be identical save with itself; and therefore personality can attach only to the individual whether this be spiritual or material.

But while no two things can be the same they may be so much alike that no difference can be discerned by us, and, therefore, in loose language they are called the same. Similarity is the only basis of comparison between the known and the unknown, and therefore for our inductive reasonings. And since this may exist in every degree from the remotest resemblance to indiscernible difference it determines the degree of accuracy in the conclusions of every scientific process. For all science is built up by the classification of individual existences or facts which agree in likeness, and therefore can be placed under one category. Without it

\*The works of Joseph Butler, D. C. L. Edited by the Right Honorable W. E. Gladstone. Vol. I., The Analogy; Vol. II., The Sermon. To be followed by a third volume of Discussions. Macmillan & Co., London and New York. 1896.

his resource of grouping no progress in knowledge could be made except through the enumeration of particulars, and then memory would be the sole measure of intellectual ability. No inference could be drawn from one instance to another except from the fact that these agreed either in their qualities or influences. Hence the basis both of Inductive and Deductive Logic, whether formal or applied, is found in Analogy. The Middle Term or fundamental principle is assumed in Deduction; and the special instance declared to belong to the general class because of its resemblance in some known particulars; and therefore it is held to possess the others, which are as yet only conjectured, by virtue of its resemblance. Induction is the counterpart of this process. For both forms of Logic are merely the process of analogy employed conversely. In inductive reasoning the new instance is compared with another somewhat better known, but not sufficiently so to make it a certain norm. This in turn has been already classified because of its similarity to another still more obvious, and this process is carried back to axiomatic principles. For by this agreement between two facts thus carried back to one more obvious, the principle of similarity is broadened by each successive instance until a general truth is established in which the certainty depends upon resemblance between a class whose members cannot be discriminated. The instances agree as far as it is possible for us to know, and the application of this principle, while broadened, gives strength from the mutual support of its parts in successive instances until a general fact is established which becomes the basis of Deduction. Such is the beginning of science, whether the word be taken in its strict meaning or in the loose application of daily life. For the process of gaining knowledge is the same, no matter what be the subject or by whom it be applied. The syllogistic form is the rule by which men reason, whether it be the uneducated rustic who has never heard of the name, or Locke, who ridicules the process while unconsciously employing it in his reasonings for its subversion.

In the science of pure abstraction, which deals with the relations of space, we have the reasoning from objective identity.

Such employ the relations of magnitude on which geometry is based, and when the mind once apprehends these in their absolute truth every new instance of their employment is only a subjective application of the same relation. But here the identity is only the model, the Platonic Idea, which each thinker grasps with different degrees of accuracy depending upon his ability and culture. So when the terms of the reasoning process are assumed, and used subsequently in the same sense, their application is always a matter of certainty to the degree that they conform to the logical process. For the basis of comparison is fixed, and the new instance is the same truth differing as before only in the subjective apprehension. Here the resemblance of the instances, or the analogy of relations, is complete; and therefore there can be no mistake in the result, provided the formal reasoning be correct. So in those instances when the middle term, which is the principle of comparison, is arrived at by what the logicians call *per enumerationem simplicem*, where all possible applications are known and included under one term. But here we have merely an analytical judgment, where we deduce from a statement what we have already thought into it. No new knowledge in concrete things can be achieved by this method, and it can be used with advantage only as a convenient register of facts for ready application or for instruction.

But all other kinds of reasoning come under the principle of Analogy, or resemblance of that which is partially unknown to that which is more or less completely known. The certainty of the result in every case will depend upon the truth of the premises, and their agreement which begets a new truth as the consequence of this union. The procedure from the known to the unknown is warranted by the assumption of the accepted truths of causality and uniformity in Nature. This is the process of evolution in the progress of each science, in the common affairs of life, and in their joint influence on the elevation of the human race. The present with its accumulated knowledge and experience is the middle term by which the new term of the future is to be tested, and this can be effected only by the close-

ness of the analogy between them. This process has been continuous and unvarying from the beginning of the world. If, therefore, there is to be a future, we are forced to believe that the same law of uniformity will continue because there are no intimations of any other principle obtaining, and so we are shut up to this. For if there be a future it must be a development from the present; like it as the bud and embryo are to the fruit and the mature spirit.

But will there be a future? is the question which above all others commands our attention. Is there any evidence deducible from the course of nature which leads us to expect a future life? The proof for this, if there be any, cannot be demonstrative as in mathematics, where we postulate our own definitions and the conditions for their application. We can postulate nothing concerning the future, except by analogy with the past depending on the general uniformity observable in nature, and the evidence that all parts of space and time belong to one general scheme. There is *a priori* evidence of this because we see no line, either local or temporal, where this uniformity ceases and a new order begins; and so we are not permitted to fix any bound ourselves. Neither, again, can the proof be of the nature of analytic evidence, where the answer is virtually contained in the statement of the question. Nor yet again can it be of the character of scientific tests, where all the elements are coexistent and constant, save as we subject them to experiment. It must then necessarily be of that kind which arises between the known past, including the present and the unknown future as a continuance of the same scheme—a step in advance rendered possible by the firmness of our present standing. This is a natural action of the mind inseparable from its activity, one in which we fall into unconsciously, and which no amount of sophistry can prevent us from clinging fast to by the anchor of hope.

#### (b) BUTLER'S ANALOGY OF RELIGION.

Bishop Butler's "Analogy" is one of those books which are written for all time. It does not seem to be the product of any

particular age, save as the period when it was written was one when there was a loud call for plain speaking in defense of religious truth. For it was a time when unbelief, loose morals, and a polite contempt for revealed religion, were but poorly counteracted by a venal clergy whose daily life was a halting witness for the truth of their profession, and whose doctrine was a cowardly compromise with the enemies of faith. It voices the thoughts of a culture which recognizes this faith in an unseen world as the basis of all virtue and progress, as the strength of character and foundation of hope amid the discouragements and frailties of this life. Like every great genius, Butler appears to say what the thoughtful in all ages wished to say, and therefore creates the impressions with those who follow his argument that they could say the same. It is the gathering up of scattered fragments of thought patent to every reflecting mind when taken singly, and articulating them so deftly together that they form a chain of proof, and, contrary to the usual fact, this chain is stronger than any one of its links, because the strength of each could never be known until it was seen in the place for which it showed itself fitted by its relations as soon as located. How much a truly great man knows in advance of his age cannot be computed. The wise man is the prophet just to the degree that he understands the workings of the human heart. He "speaks for" others as far as he can voice their thoughts and needs, as well as in "advance" of them by foretelling what is to come. He reads the inmost thoughts of men; he looks down into the roots of things; he sees the inner forces which control nature because he is in communion with them, being himself an integral part of the working power which moves the world. The forces which control any movement are various, many of them minute, and their action complicated. Superficial observers err because they seize on a few which appear to them prominent. But while they may be so, they are joint forces with many others and their action is modified by those of less energy. As in the law of the resultant, the smaller forces are still sufficiently powerful to change the

direction of those which are thought to be controlling. Hence the conclusions of superficial thinkers are erroneous because they make no allowance for the small elements which combine with the main ones to produce in moral forces an unexpected resultant. There are, for example, at least 43 forces in the solar system; some of them very feeble comparatively, but still powerful enough to produce a remainder in all the calculation of paths and evolutionary periods among the planets. This illustrates the principle alluded to by Goethe, when he said that "whenever the human intellect divides nature it leaves a remainder." For there are forces so minute and essences so subtle that man cannot grasp them all; but the measure of his capacity is shown by the degree of completeness with which he enumerates and utilizes such as can be known. It was Butler's great merit that he was able to seize on an immense array of facts bearing on his subject, which, taken in isolation, had been deemed too trivial for notice by other authors, and so combine them that they mutually support each other, and thus by their joint effort produce an overpowering effect on every fair-minded reader. This is a most marked peculiarity of the "Analogy," compared with any other treatise on the nature and proofs of a future life. The impression on the mind of the reader is well-nigh unaccountable. The author makes out his case while granting everything his adversaries claim, stating their objections more strongly than any one of them had ever been able to do, and, at the same time, showing their utter futility. This is done in such a way as to make evident both the reserve force of the writer and of his subject, and while this is the course of honesty, it also becomes a powerful argument in itself. Hence, whatever other views may have been held by those who are hostile to the author's position, there is only one as to his fairness both in the statement of his own views and those of his opponents. For this reason those who are in sympathy with his theory feel assured of two things, viz: That the position of the doubter is utterly demolished by the skirmish line without calling out the reserve forces; and that his own is impregnable when it can be defended by only the insig-



nificant contingent. For Butler does not pretend to cover the entire ground of Apologetics. He seems to have purposely chosen a point of view which others had neglected because they thought it unworthy of occupancy.

The fate of Butler's writings has been like that of a few other authors, who, to employ a misused expression, "have lived before their time." Those who interpret the controlling thoughts of mankind speak to the select few in every age who are able to comprehend them. Hence the full meaning of a true seer is not understood, and therefore not appreciated until in the course of years the general culture of the race has risen to the level of the great writer's thoughts. It is a characteristic of Divine Revelation that its full meaning can never be exhausted; repeated and careful study reveals meanings long hidden and awaiting the time of their interpretation when the world is ready to receive them. Just as the riches of the earth, the deposits of the precious metals, and the concentrated energies of coal and oil, of electricity, and doubtless of as many other elements and exponents of forces yet undreamed of by science, await the time when men can understand and utilize them; even so the words of Divine Wisdom, whether uttered by that prophetic vision which God gives His special heralds, or that unmiraculous vision which accompanies transcendent talents. For these utterances have a wealth of meaning, a quickening energy which will never be comprehended or employed to the full measure of their significance until the education of the race be complete. Butler spoke to a select few with such modesty, even timidity, that his contemporaries did not discern the prophecies they had among them. The popularity of some writers increases with a slow but steady growth, which is a thermometer showing the rise of man in the scale of intelligence and virtue. Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Bacon, Shakespeare, Leibnitz and Kant grow more popular with the lapse of centuries. The reason of this is not far to seek. They see farther into the hidden processes which control the world than others, and only a few are able to understand the most important truths they utter even when ex-

**P**ounded. These few in turn interpret them to others, and after a while the whole world may be able to grasp the message which at the time of utterance seemed an enigma. But these great geniuses had their exoteric doctrines; they expressed part of their message in terms on a level with the common understanding, were popular to that extent, and valued for what was really of the least consequence in their utterances. Prophecy has usually a double fulfillment, and most persons are content when they can grasp the primary and more obvious meaning. Butler was appreciated by his contemporaries to a certain degree. The modest and painfully shy author, who could but imperfectly explain himself in public, and who believed that a serious subject could not be discussed properly in a promiscuous company, was more admired than understood while he lived. His "Sermons at the Rolls," doubtless the most profound and significant as expositions of religious philosophy of any that have ever been uttered by an uninspired preacher, attracted so little attention that they were not sought for publication. Doubtless the few lawyers and judges who, as a matter of form, attended the religious services which were especially held for them, heard the text, scanned with some curiosity the bloodless countenance of their preacher, and were lulled to sleep by his halting accents. When the service was over each awakened attendant probably remarked to his neighbor: "What a profound discourse Mr. Butler gave us to-day;" and received a hearty yea in response, by which both interlocutors prided themselves on the reputation for profundity they had established with their fellows. But the "Sermons" slept in the author's "barrel" for several years, and would have been forgotten had he not thrust his hand, at random as we would infer from his own statement,\* among the large mass, taken the fifteen which first rewarded his delving, and given them to the public. The rest of this priceless treasure seem to

\* It may be proper just to advertise the reader that he is not to look for any particular reason for the choice of the greatest part of these discourses; these being taken from amongst many others preached in the same place through a course of eight years, being in great measure accidental. Vol. II., 39.

have been a prey to paper moths, until a century after they were written, when they fell into the hands of the wife of a country rector, who used them to light her kitchen fire!

The "Analogy" fared somewhat better. The favor of Queen Caroline; who desired the reputation of a *bas bleu*; of the Lord Chancellor and Archbishop Secker, and of Dr. S. Clarke, of whom only the last could completely understand it, gave the work such a send-off that the literary world thought itself compelled to buy and read the Lord Bishop's book, and through personal vanity make one another believe they comprehended its argument. The words of the wise are ever heard in secret. They were understood sufficiently to find a few willing readers. The power of the author began to be felt. Men read the book and experienced a strange fascination. They returned to it again, asking themselves where its force lay. Certainly not in its awkward and even crabbed style. Not in pretentious claims at demonstrative reasoning. Not in any new or startling theories. Its materials were simple, its arguments apparently commonplace. It had neither the fierceness of controversy to arouse attention, nor the rancor of personal abuse to keep alive the interest in its arguments. It seemed to concede so much to the free thinker that he thought himself the admitted master of the field. But gradually the fact dawned upon the reader that unbelief has no cause and its advocates no standing, because they have conceded enough in what is admitted to be necessary to the conduct of daily life to destroy their own argument. The free thinker must deny that rewards and punishments are the basis of civil society, and that man is responsible, which renders all conduct indifferent; or he must admit the analogy between the natural and revealed systems is complete. This is all that Butler contends for; and, therefore, to oppose him is either absurd or dishonest.

It is perhaps impossible to describe the impression this book makes upon the sympathetic reader. For each element of the argument appears insignificant in itself and is so familiar that it awakens no interest. But somehow as he reads on he is un-

Consciously carried along with the writer and convinced. Butler is so fair, concedes so much to his opponents and still combines his arguments so skillfully that each grain of the proof coöperates in producing an effect which is irresistible. The candor of the author is conspicuous by the contrast with the *finesse* of his opponents; and this proves the strongest argument of all, because it shows what temper the Christian faith in a future life produces, and causes the dishonesty of unbelievers to answer itself by displaying its legitimate effect upon their character.

No book of apologetics has been found so hard to criticise by those who profess to doubt a future life or question the cogency of Butler's argument in its support. For every thoughtful man is compelled to admit the data on which Butler frames his argument. And should any one deny them he will have to watch continually lest he write himself a knave or a fool, for they are a necessary basis from which he is forced to fight. For he cannot deny the author's premises without abjuring all that distinguishes honesty and culture from falsehood and savagery. And while constrained to admit his premises, doubters cannot state their own objections to the doctrine of a future life so strongly as he does for them. And yet he so deftly forges his defensive armor for Revealed Religion that they can find no joints through which to shoot their arrows of criticism. They may deny that he makes out his case, but can find no proof to substantiate this denial, and leave him in possession of the field. They may try to pick a flaw in his reasoning, but find that all their artillery has dislodged is only the rust and grime on his armor; and the net result is to make it brighter by removing the incrustation. They attack single points which are unessential when taken out of their connection, and because they fail to see that it is their linked dependence which gives them cogency, the labored effort displays only their own ignorance. Nearly all his critics employ the shallow artifice of patronizing—a favorite trick of unbelief at all times—by praising the author's life and motives. But when retreating from the attack they still proclaim themselves victorious over an argument which they

have not understood. This is a victory easily gained, though attended with the consciousness that the world sees through the sophistry. The gist of all the objections raised against the "Analogy," from Martineau to Matthew Arnold, is that they accuse him of not proving what he did not attempt to do. They mistake his purpose, which is to show that there is an analogy between the course of nature, as shown in what we actually experience growing out of our physical and moral constitution and the enactments of civil society founded thereon, and that of a future life as disclosed in Revelation. The purpose is not to demonstrate a future life from axiomatic principles as Euclid does geometry, or Newton the movements of the solar system. Logical reasoning cannot do this because it is not a matter of pure science or deduction from experience. As a result of this misunderstanding, all the criticisms, as Mr. Gladstone has so trenchantly shown,\* are merely paralogisms. The critics could neither understand the general purpose of the author, the trend of his arguments, or their own sophistries, and wearied themselves beating the air. For a specimen of most keen and drastic criticism, commend us to the Grand Old Man's handling of Arnold, whose egotism consisted, in part, in mistaking his own critical taste for the *zeitgeist* of the age! Truly, if Arnold were alive to feel the flaying, and his egotistical folly not beyond the reach of medicine, he would be as much delighted as the eels whose good fortune it was to be skinned by dear old Izaak Walton.

(c) Gladstone's Edition of Butler's Works.

Butler's *Analogy* has been published one hundred and sixty years. In that time the subject of philosophical evidence of a future life has engaged the most vigorous intellects; and the department of Teleology, which for a good while has been the chief battleground between belief and unbelief, has been especially developed. It is doubtful if Butler was acquainted with the works of that profoundest thinker of modern times—except himself—Leibnitz. There is at least no evidence from the *Analogy* that he had used the works of Continental thinkers living

\* Contemporary Review, Nov.—Dec., 1895.

since the revival of learning. Doubtless he set before himself a unique plan which did not call for a reference to the investigations of other apologists. He took the elements which were common property of all reflecting persons, and constructed his argument without help from any other writer. It is possible that the statement of Origen which he quotes\* may have suggested the idea of the Analogy. It is also barely possible that a similar thought expressed by the Dutch writer (Nieuwentyt) which doubtless proved a fruitful seed to Paley in his Natural Theology, was suggestive to Butler. But it is far more likely that the view of the moral government of the universe considered as a scheme was his independent conception, just as was the supremacy of Conscience. The only aid that the statement of Origen could have given him would be to show that the difficulties which meet one in accepting the Holy Scriptures as the word of God are just such as must be encountered by a person who believes this world to have come from Him. This embraces only a very small part of the "Analogy" and does not amount to a proof for a future life, while Butler's contention is that the actual government of the world is evidently disciplinary and a part of a scheme embracing all time.

If we should conclude that Butler borrowed his system from another because similar ideas had been suggested before, we might find analogies without number in Plato's Republic and Laws between the government of Deity on earth and in a future state. Such thoughts are native to all deeply reflecting spirits. It is the prerogative of genius to shed light upon those thoughts which have become old and worn. And while we have competent authority for the statement that "there is nothing new under the sun," still the power to quicken with a fresh and endless life that which is trite is a new creation. If we should admit that Butler did this, it will in no respect derogate from the magnitude of his service. And since truth is both the property and the object of pursuit of all good men, their investigations are component parts,

\*Χρὴ μὲν τοι γὰρ τὸν ἅπαξ παραδεξάμενον τοῦ κτίσαντος τὸν κόσμον εἶναι ταῖτας ὡς γράφας πεπεισθαι, ὅτι ὅσα περὶ τῆς κτίσεως ἅπαντα τοῖς ζητοῦσι τὸν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγον, ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν γραφῶν.

and exhibit facets of this jewel. Hence, however unique the plan of the "Analogy" may be, it can receive side lights from all departments of philosophy and physical science.

The period since Bishop Butler's works were published has been most prolific in valuable contributions in the lines of Apologetics in Theology, and Teleology in Philosophy. These have made more distinct progress in that time than in any other equal period in the history of the world. For these reasons his works should be edited with the help of all progress which has been made in the knowledge of this life as a precursor of the one for which analogy teaches that the present is a preparation. Of editions so-called we have had no lack. Most of these, however, were of the bare text, and more properly reprints. Some of them were accompanied with analyses and questions fitting for text-books in schools. Few books on theological or philosophical subjects have passed through so many reprints or been used so widely as text-books in schools and colleges as the "Analogy." One large body of Christians in our country has made it one of the books indispensable for every theological student to pass examination in before he can be admitted to the Gospel ministry. None of these scarcely claim to be editions, or, if they do, no real student of the author would suspect the fact. For they are superficial, and merely aim to interpret the meaning to the grasp of the ordinary mind. They do not conceive it as a whole, nor see its bearing on the real question of analogical proof. While very useful in bringing the more obvious parts of the book to the comprehension of the multitude, they do not see in it an exhaustive summary of those fundamental truths revealed in nature which, by their agreement with Divine revelation corroborate its appeals to the conscience and make transgression inexcusable. They are like the handbooks of science which diffuse valuable information in each department of physics, but give the facts in insolation without their deeper signification as parts of the Cosmos, for the comprehension of which the majority even of the educated have neither the leisure nor the ability.

Despite the fact therefore that so long a period, and one so



rich in progress, has elapsed, no edition in any proper sense as incorporating these results has been published. Those which come the nearest to this desideratum are the "Analogy" by Barnes, which is enriched with a valuable Prolegomenon; and those of Fitzgerald, Steere and Whewell, of the "Analogy" or "Sermons." These have done their work well so far as they proposed. They contain clear and vigorous expositions of parts of the author's views and enter into his spirit. But they are deficient in that which is so much desired, the *tout ensemble* of all Butler's works. For he considers the present and future as parts of one grand scheme, which combines the life of man on earth and in the existence beyond as forming one system, subjected to the same law and controlled by one Lawgiver. Such an editor has been needed as could utilize all the materials at hand, with the comprehensive spirit which dictated the original work. The writer has felt this so strongly that he has urged, at various times, four persons who, in breadth of intellect and culture as well as sympathy with Butler's views, were known to be able for this task. Three of these were President Woolsey, Prof. G. T. E. Shedd, and M. Barthélemy St. Hillaire. These all pleaded literary engagements already in progress, as well as age too far advanced to undertake a work requiring the best powers and extended leisure. But the fourth, who stands at the head of the scholars and thinkers as well as the statesmen of this century, had already, without the writer's knowledge, made preparation for this very work before application to him was made. And now that release from the cares of state permit, he consecrates the results of his rich experience and elegant culture to this much needed service. To the many services which he has rendered to religion, to statesmanship and to elegant literature, an adequate edition of the greatest religious philosopher of any age would be a fitting crown. Every person has full confidence that the venerable W. E. Gladstone, if spared to complete the work he has begun by the supplementary volume promised, will give the world an edition worthy of Butler, which is the greatest commendation that is possible. Possessed of every advantage of



talent and culture, of devotion to the truths of revealed religion, with an encyclopædic knowledge, an energy for work which knows no diminution from age; with a catholicity of spirit which acknowledges all that is pure and true and good in every branch of Christendom or Theistic faith, he is the one above all others living since Butler's time who will be acknowledged as the proper person for his editor.

(d) BUTLER'S REASONING RESTS UPON THE HYPOTHESIS OF  
A UNITARY SCHEME IN NATURE.

The prevailing idea in all that Butler has published is that this life is a part of one general scheme which pervades all time and space and is the work of one Omnipotent Author. This is the special conception of the "Analogy," while the purpose of the "Sermons" is to show that all men have a common bond between them; that their interests and their destiny are identical because they are under one scheme of government. This scheme which embraces all things is the One of the Greek philosophy, and in fact is the root idea of all philosophic thought since man began to speculate. How the One becomes the many and they remain distinct in their individuality is the problem of existence from Plato to Leibnitz, whose thoughts have been the seeds to germinate in all other men's minds, and embodies all that is significant in metaphysics, as well as underlies every phase of religious thought, whether natural or revealed. David's harp and the Sybil's leaves, though they sound different notes and often not in harmony with each other, are united in the theme that all parts of the universe and the experiences of rational agents whether in the present or a future life, are united under one system embracing:

" One God, one law, one element,  
And one far-off divine event  
To which the whole creation moves."\*

Herein theism, pantheism, Revelation unite their common forces to oppose unbelief, pessimism and agnosticism. For what-

\* Tennyson : In Memoriam.

ever elevates human nature inspires it with hope and makes it strong to meet the trials of life, segregates itself from that which lowers the aims of man by endeavoring to prove that life is not worth living. If, however, all existence is a scheme, and design prevails—which are assumptions necessary to render science possible and give human conduct moral quality—then each period of our individual existence must be considered indissolubly connected with every other. For the order of nature, as far as it appears above our horizon, is development. One stage is preparatory to another and cannot be isolated. Every analogy of the physical world teaches this. For each particle of matter is connected by attraction with every other; each stage of growth is necessary to the succeeding, even as it is the effect of that which has gone before. The bud swells into the flower; the flower drops when it has nourished the embryo fruit. This in turn yields the seed to propagate itself indefinitely. So the protoplasm or cell develop into the embryo organ; the imperfect body becomes ready for a separate existence. The rudimentary members and sense organs grow to fitness for use under the direction of independent volition. The child plays, the youth gains knowledge, the young man becomes rich in experience for future activities. The mature man disciplines his character by self-denial and the performance of duty for its own sake. This process continues as far as we can watch it. But, unless there be a future life, the discipline and knowledge which fit us for an advanced stage when this fitness has become complete, there is an absolute loss of the painfully acquired adaptation for its more perfect exercise. For if our existence be confined to this world we have the strange, the unnatural spectacle of a man who, by constant watchfulness and the wisdom acquired through many failures, has become fit to live, but must be annihilated when he has but just learned how to live. If there is no place for its display the accumulated power is hopelessly lost. The uniformity of nature's action is destroyed; the scheme according to which all has been effected hitherto is broken off at once, and a wholly different order of nature supervenes. It may be said in reply:

We have no proof that the soul exists after the death of the body, or that its activities are not wholly conditioned by its alliance with a material organization ; that we do not know but that the forces which are displayed by the living organism are immanent in matter, and so, when dissolution of this takes place, the energy belonging to each particle goes with the same to compose an entirely different being. Two remarks may be pertinent here. One is that if nothing can be proved affirmatively by the analogical method employed, nothing can be negatively. There is an exact balancing, and no advantage is gained by him who doubts a future life. Another is that Butler does not say that this line of argument *demonstrates* a future life ; but that if there is any probability, however little, *for*, and none whatever *against* this view, then the probability ought to be made our rule of action. For in our daily life we are often compelled to act on what, in the main, has the greater degree of probability. In fact, there are very few, if any, matters pertaining to our action which admit of demonstrative proof. Here comes the force of analogy. All the frame of nature evidently belongs to one system indissolubly connected together. The course of development, as far as we can trace it, makes each stage preparatory. The difference between the protoplasm and the full-grown foetus, and again the embryo before birth and the full-grown man, is as great as that between our present life and one a stage in advance, *as far as we can see*, and our ignorance cannot be taken to establish a negative proof. And the proof from analogy, whatever weight it may have in itself, is not counterbalanced by any in opposition. But, on the contrary, every system of religious doctrine, every accepted revelation, asserts of the future life which it professes to disclose that this will be a realization of what is hoped for in the present one, and will be a continuance in the line, and from this point where, the preparation at death has fitted for action. Analogy has been the mode of procedure invariably up to this point, and all grounds of reasoning from which we can draw an inference project it into the future.

**(e) REVELATION NOT INTENDED TO SATISFY MERE CURIOSITY.**

The idea that Revelation should clear up difficulties is proper ; but the question may be naturally asked : Should it clear up all that meet us ? If this be demanded we make *ourselves*, and not the Divine Spirit, the criterion of what is proper for us to know. This is so absurd that the simple statement is its own refutation. Two questions seem preliminary to any such demand. Do we utilize all the knowledge we have touching our duty to the Supreme Being ? and would we therefore be profited if all we desire were made known to us ?

A scheme which embraces the whole of two worlds and all time for its unfolding must contain much that we cannot understand. Daily experience proves only too painfully our ignorance, even in regard to much of that which most nearly concerns us and is most level to our comprehension. There is not a single department of science which seems to be more than in its infancy ; none in which that which is unknown is not out of all proportion greater than that which is understood. The organisms of the tiniest animalcule, the physical constitution of the moat which floats in the sunbeam, the structure of any small part of our own bodies, the psychological relation of the spiritual nature to the material, the mode by which the soul bridges the chasm between itself and matter, whether there be a material world, and if so, do we know reality or only phenomena ? Any one of these and countless other questions show us that our present condition is one of ignorance. Hence it is not strange that there should be depths which we cannot fathom in the scheme which embraces the relations of both worlds to each other, when we confessedly know so little of that which is continually before our eyes. If a system of religion or philosophy should profess to make all its parts plain this would at once stamp it as both false and unsuited to our present condition. Meantime, we are compelled to act on what knowledge we profess. For we must always bear in mind that there is no escape from the condition in which we find ourselves, whether this be

such as we would have chosen or not. We find ourselves here with certain surroundings and with a definite work to perform, under conditions which we did not create and which we cannot nullify or change. It is a condition of ignorance, imperfection in physical organization leading to countless ills, and a constant liability to offend against that moral law which our consciences tell us to be right. This is true alike of the individual and the race. But, connected with the imperfection, there is also the feeling that we are entrusted with the responsibility of our own destiny, so that we can make ourselves better or worse, in fact, no one but ourselves can do this. Hence, as we are imperfect—and there is within each man a pervading desire for advance in all that can improve our condition—every portion of our life is disciplinary. No one has yet arrived at the best estate of which he is capable in any period. And each period being evidently adapted to fit for the succeeding one, and none of them having accomplished what we reach after, it is plain that if our present existence is part of a scheme, there must be another life to complete the work begun here. For this is evidently disciplinary and of that sort of trial in which every man is entrusted with the achievement of his own happiness or misery. And when the discipline has been most efficient and the results reached the most satisfactory, when a life of constant struggle against temptation has fitted the character for good service and corresponding happiness, the whole result has been to no purpose, provided the career be closed to death. Such an issue might be allowable under a system of pessimism. But no one who struggles after virtue and elevation of character believes in this revolting doctrine. Nor is it worth while to argue with one who holds this gloomy creed. The only way for him to be consistent on this view is to end this wretched life, and the refuge of suicide being placed within the reach of all it would be the duty of all to avail themselves of this remedy and close the miserable farce. If a demon continued so shocking an existence he must be the embodiment of cruelty and hate. He ought, therefore, to be outwitted, and his plans of evil thwarted. For pessimism rejects immortality

and thinks the present existence the worst that is possible, and therefore it should be escaped from as soon as possible. But this view is so absurd, so contradictory to our best aspirations and degrading to our character, that few will be found willing to accept it in theory or foolhardy enough to adopt it in practice.

(f) PROOFS FOR OPTIMISM IN NATURE.

The world in which we live would be a glorious dwelling place were it not for the miseries which responsible creatures bring upon it by their sins, and our own lives are in the main what we choose to make them. If there be exceptions where the innocent suffer because of the guilt of their parents or the badness of their neighbors, this in no way contradicts the truth that it is voluntary offense which brings misery on the world, and therefore if all were virtuous, if all reached even the standard of their own consciousness of duty, the miseries of which the pessimist complains would gradually disappear; and this tendency—which we can experience so far as we practice right doing—shows that if all wrong doing should utterly cease, so eventually would its consequences.

Moreover, we see that the general tendency to punish sin and protect the innocent are expressed in civil and moral codes exactly in proportion to the growth of intelligence and virtue; that is, to the elevation of the race. While, therefore, these advance *pari passu* as long as their effects can be seen, it is reasonable to assume that the scheme of moral government under which we live will be continued, and with time enough will effect the consummation of this tendency. That the presence of evil under any form, and the powers of the guilty to involve the innocent in suffering are dark problems which we greatly desire to have explained by revelation is certainly true. But it is not at all clear that our conduct would be altered for the better if the reasons for their existence were fully disclosed to us. Deliverance from all the consequences of sin is secured precisely in proportion as the world comes under the moral law, as written in the conscience and corroborated by direct revelation of the Divine Will. If we

wish to know more the method is clear. The more perfect conformity with the moral law in action leads to the more complete comprehension of its provisions. The inspired Teacher declared that if any man will do God's will he shall know the doctrine; that is the truth which underlies all commands. As the law is fulfilled, the miseries which it is intended to counteract disappear, and with them the occasion for its application. The law is not made for the righteous, but for the transgressor; and so, if there were no offenders the end of the law would be attained, and it would become a dead letter. Hence we see here also a perfect analogy between what we know to be true in this life and the scheme disclosed in revelation. By patient study we increase in the knowledge of the material world, and it becomes subject to our power. By obedience to the civil code made for the punishment of the guilty and the protection of the innocent it becomes incorporated into our character, and we know all its provisions in its fulfillment. If we did our whole duty to God and our fellow-men there would be no dark problems, no perplexities in our way. The realization of happiness would be already complete; there would be no misery in the present and no anxiety for the future. The present and the future life unite in one scheme: Perfect obedience to a law which was intended to secure, and already partially realizes, perfect freedom from sin and its coördinate, a happiness equal to our capacity, and increasing with its enlargement!

#### (j) CONCLUSION: WHAT DOES BUTLER PROVE?

Butler's contentions, like the declarations of Revelation, have their own evidence in their application to the actual condition in which we find ourselves. In their self-evidencing truths lies their strength. The analogy of the present to the future is seen in the order of nature as fast as time realizes it; and the exact correspondence between the truth which we have witnessed in experience, with the continued scheme disclosed by Divine prophecy, attests their common origin and thereby the certainty of a future life.

### III.

## OUR DIVINE SONSHIP.

BY REV. WILLIAM C. SCHAEFFER, PH. D.

. Our relation to God is doubtless the deepest and most far-reaching of which we are capable. As He is the author of our being and the continual support of our life, we find in this relation the very root and ground of our existence. All our other relations are either comprehended in this, or else they are controlled and modified by it. Hence as we conceive of this relation, so will we conceive of all our other relations, and so finally will we conceive of our entire being, duty and destiny.

Our conception of this relation depends necessarily upon our conception of the terms related, and more especially upon our conception of the first or major term. In our study of it we must hence begin with the idea of the Godhead, with the idea of God as He exists in and by Himself. His character determines His creative activity, and that in turn determines the product of His handiwork. Our conception of his character must, therefore, regulate our conception of that creative activity by which He called the universe into being; and that in turn will regulate our conception of the universe which He created, of the creatures who are His workmanship, and of their relation to Him.

After we have thus formed an idea of the first term of the relation, we will be in a position for a profitable study of the second; and all that we can discover of that will then become helpful in our determination of the relation. As man is a free being, his activity will necessarily affect and modify the relation; but its original character was determined by the divine activity, and it must hence be approached from that side. Man's activity may disturb or even change its character, and must hence be taken into account in our study of what it has become, or of



what it finally will be; but what it originally was, and what it was designed to become, was determined solely by the divine activity. We can rightly estimate even its present character only on the basis of what it originally was. As a mariner, who has been tossed for many days in thick weather and upon an unknown sea, can determine his true position only by taking his latitude from the sun, and by calculating the distance he has drifted from his starting point; so can we determine the true character of this relation, after it has once become modified by the activity of man, only by looking anew to Him who first constituted it, and by estimating how far we have drifted from the ideal which He had in regard to it. We would hence go very far wrong, if we should attempt to study it primarily from the human standpoint. We must begin with the other side; and only after we have determined what it originally was and what it was intended to be, from a careful study of the character of God, can we be in a position to estimate how it was subsequently influenced and modified by our own activity.

The Christian revelation presents God as a Trinity—a Trinity not simply of manifestation, but of essence. If, in imagination, we go back to “the beginning,” when, as yet there was no created universe, God is represented as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. He did not begin to be a Father after He had called into being a universe of created intelligences, but He is the Father Almighty from all eternity in the very essence of His being.\* “The relations of Fatherhood and Sonship, which con-

\*“ But the relations and activities immanent in the Godhead are less physical than ethical, denoted by terms expressive of the purest emotions and the most creative and dependent relations known to man—Fatherhood and Sonship. These represent love as native to God and as eternal as God. For Him it never began to be, for this is the meaning of the eternal Sonship. The love of man has a potential before it has an actual being; he has the capability of loving before the reality of love; but the love of God had always actual, never a potential being, for only so could it be perfect love. In man love is born of the meeting of the susceptible subject and the attractive object, but in God the absolute love had ever perfect reason and room for being. Man can never know a father’s affection until he be a father, or a woman a mother’s love unless she be a mother. The capacity may be there, but only the capacity, the

cretely express to us what we count most dear in the nature of God, are eternal and constituent in His very being.”\* Nothing short of this is involved in the teaching of the New Testament on the pre-existence and divinity of Jesus Christ. If He is the Son of God, if as Son He is co-equal and co-eternal with the Father, and if He is “the same yesterday, to-day and forever,” then from all eternity, before ever the world was, He dwelt in the bosom of the Father as the eternal Son; and God is Father in the very essence of His being, irrespective of all His subsequent activity in the creation. The idea of His Fatherhood, with all that it implies in the way of an eternal communion of love, carries us to the very highest reach of our thought concerning His being.

His Fatherhood conditions and determines His activity as Creator. Not only is He “God, the Father Almighty,” before He is “Maker of heaven and earth;” but He became the latter, because from all eternity He was the former. His love as Father was the motive which prompted His creative activity. As Principal Fairbairn so tersely and forcibly puts it, “God does not love because He created, but He created because He loved.” His creative activity went forth in order that He might extend the blessedness of His own being to a universe of intelligences; and from the very moment of their creation, with the first awakening of conscious, created existence, they rested in the bosom of His love. They did not have need to awaken His fatherly love by anything which they themselves were or did; that love called them into being, and it was theirs because of what He was in Himself.

But if His eternal Fatherhood thus determined His activity as Creator, it must likewise have determined the character of that

aptitude to be, not the actual being. But the Godhead means that as the Fatherhood and the Sonship have been eternal, so also has the love. It signifies that God is not the eternal possibility, but the eternal actuality of love. Hence creation did not mean for God the beginning of love, or even any increase of it. It might be an increase in the objects, but not in the affection.” *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology.* Fairbairn, p. 410.

\* *Doctrine and Life.* Stephens, p. 100.

which He created. As His fatherly love went forth in creative activity in order that He might extend the blessedness of His own being to a universe of created intelligences; those intelligences must have been capable by the very fact of their creation of responding to His love, and this response must have implied a being on their part, answering to His own. As the love which called them into being was a Father's love, the love of which they were made capable must have been a filial love, answering to His; or, in other words, they must by their very creation have been fitted to sonship. And this must likewise have been the fundamental characteristic of their being. As Fatherhood is the fundamental and distinguishing characteristic of His being, so sonship must have been the fundamental and distinguishing characteristic of theirs.\* Something like this seems to be implied in the doxology with which St. Paul opens his epistle to the Ephesians: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places in Christ; even as He chose us in Him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blemish before Him in love; *having foreordained us unto adoption as sons through Jesus Christ unto Himself*, according to the good pleasure of His will, to the praise of the glory of His grace, which He freely bestowed upon us in the beloved." For, however we may explain the foreordination here spoken of, it implies that before the foundation of the world the destiny of mankind, according to the Divine ideal, was that of sonship. "For whom He foreknew, He also foreordained to be conformed to the image of His Son, that he might be the first born among many brethren." As the love which prompted their creation was the same fatherly love as that which from all eternity He bestowed upon the Son, they must of necessity have been foreordained to be conformed to the image of His Son.

\* "The nature which determined the end was the unity which we speak of as the Godhead. In it Fatherhood and Sonship were essential and immanent, and so the end may be described as the realization of external relations correspondent to the internal; in other words, the creation of a universe which should be to God as a son, while He was to it as a Father." *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology.* Fairbairn, pp. 446, 447.

This seems to be substantiated by the very form in which the creation is said to have been effected. Though the New Testament ascribes creation to the Father, it does not do so in a way implying that He is the Creator independently of the Son. On the contrary, the representation everywhere is that He created the world by or through the Son. Thus St. John says: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that hath been made." At the opening of the epistle to the Hebrews, where we are told that God "hath at the end of these days spoken to us in His Son;" we are also told that through Him "He made the worlds." And does not that imply that, having been thus associated in our very creation with the Son, we are destined to share not only in the love wherewith the Father loved Him, but also in that very relation which made it possible for the Son to be "the effulgence of His glory and the very image of His substance?"

Approaching, therefore, the study of our relation to God from the side of its major factor, we must affirm the divine sonship of the race. For this it was called into being. That was its end according to the divine ideal. But, if we now shift our standpoint, if we take into consideration the modification of the relation which was necessarily introduced by the free activity of man, which resulted in his Fall, can we still make this affirmation? Is God still the Father of all men? Are all men still the sons of God?

Apparently these two questions demand the same answer. If the latter is answered in the negative, it would seem as if the former ought to be; if the former is answered in the affirmative, it would seem as if the latter should be. As a matter of fact, both have been answered both affirmatively and negatively. Starting out with the proposition that by the Fall man has forfeited his right to sonship, one may very easily end with a denial of the universal Fatherhood of God; or, starting with the thought of the universal Fatherhood of God, one may just as

easily reach the conclusion that, in spite of sin, all men are still the sons of God. Let us note the method of reasoning in each case and the consequences which must follow.

Unfortunately the usual method has been to begin with the second question. When man woke to consciousness on the morning of his creation, he failed to respond to the divine love which had given him being. Repudiating the Father's love, he turned his back upon his Father's house ; and, gathering together all the goods which had fallen to him, he took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance in riotous living. By his own act he had clearly forfeited his right to the place and privileges of a son ; and hence, when he came to himself, he was ready to confess, " Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and *am no more worthy to be called thy son.*" To this confession the consciousness of mankind has borne universal testimony. Man feels his guilt ; and on account of his transgression, he can find it in his heart to ask for nothing better than to be made like one of the hired servants. He failed to realize God's ideal and purpose with regard to him ; he wickedly renounced his original position of sonship ; he utterly wasted all his original endowments ; he was stranded, a miserable bankrupt, with nothing to eat and with nowhere to go ; and he found himself alone, a stranger in a strange land.

There can be no question about the correctness of this picture of man's lost condition ; for it is drawn by the Master Himself. And there can be no question either about the fact that, in that condition, he had forfeited his right to the name of a son. He was an alien and a stranger. On his side the relation which God had constituted in the creation was broken ; and he no longer retained the power of restoring it. Did this breaking of the filial relation, on the part of man, also break the relation on its divine side ? Was the paternal relation destroyed, because the filial was broken ? Many, accepting their conclusion from the seeming logical necessities of the case, have unhesitatingly answered in the affirmative. Since man renounced his sonship, God is supposed to have either renounced or else lost His Fath-

erhood. Since man wickedly wandered from home, God is supposed to have cast him off.

The consequences of this mode of reasoning have been sad enough. While it left the way open for the adoption of a certain number, to whom God might become reconciled by the death of His Son, it obscured the idea of His eternal Fatherhood in the mind of the Church, and it made Him appear as no longer capable of loving all mankind. Probably nothing else tended so strongly to foster the notion of a limited atonement, and that other fearful conception that God loved only a limited portion of the race, for whose redemption He made provision, while He passed by all the rest as reprobates.

But this method of reasoning does violence to the divine nature ; and it is, moreover, in conflict with much of the teaching of the New Testament Scriptures. Man might fail to realize what was implied in the filial relation into which he was brought by the very fact of his creation ; for he was finite, and he had to realize by his own will what was before him simply as a possibility. But the same can not be said of God. His Fatherhood is of the very essence of His being. It is not conditioned by anything on the outside of Himself. He can not cease to be a Father without ceasing to be God. His Fatherhood, moreover, was from the beginning perfect. His paternal love did not have need to be called into being by the creation or the activity of His children. As we saw before, it was the very motive which called them into being. It might be wounded by the disobedience of His children ; but it could not cease to be, because it was infinite and eternal.

This, we believe, is the way in which the matter is presented in the New Testament. In spite of all the prodigal had done, he was not forgotten by his father. He was missed, sadly and sorely missed, but not cast off nor forgotten. When at last he returned, utterly bankrupt in life and possessions, the father saw him, when he was as yet a great way off, and he "had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck and kissed him." No ; although man had sinned and repudiated God's love, God did not

cease to love man. Even when men had wandered farthest from Him, "He left not Himself without witness in that He did good, and gave you from heaven rains and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness." Though He showed His displeasure on account of sin in countless ways, He at the same time was continually showing forth His goodness and His love. He even gave His Son, in order that He might win men back to Himself. "For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life."

Both Scripture and reason, therefore, demand that we should reject the conclusion which denies the universal Fatherhood of God. Even in spite of sin, God continues the Father of all men. He still loves us with a Father's love, and He is willing and ready to receive the prodigal, wherever and whenever he may return. Nay, more; He runs to meet him, when he is yet a great way off; and He is still ready to fall upon his neck and to kiss him, even before he can make his confession.

But will this answer of the first question now carry us to the necessity of answering the second in the same way? In more recent years many have done so, with what at first sight seems some show of reason. Not only does it seem the logical conclusion from the universal Fatherhood of God, but some facts seem to indicate that the sinner is still the child of God. The prodigal, even at the lowest point of his wandering, still had a reminiscence of his father and of his father's house. The word, which most naturally rose to his lips, when he came to himself, was the word *father*. While he was still feeding swine in that far country, he exclaimed: "How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger! I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son; make me as one of thy hired servants." This fact, that Jesus represents the prodigal as still retaining the reminiscence of the filial consciousness, has often been overlooked; but it cannot be without significance in a parable



which sets before us so fully the Gospel in miniature. Even in all his wanderings there remained a reminiscence of his former relation. And does not the consciousness of the heathen furnish a striking parallel to what our Lord thus represents as the consciousness of the prodigal? The Greeks and Romans continued to call their chief deity, "The father of men and of gods." To this dim reminiscence of sonship, still lingering in the heathen consciousness, St. Paul appealed in his address to the Athenians on Mars Hill, saying: "In Him we live, and move and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, *For we are also his offspring.*" And so much it seems necessary to affirm, if we would have any basis on which to affirm an adoption of the sinner into the family of God; for even God cannot adopt into His family one who has never been a son, and who does not have capacity for that high spiritual communion, which the idea of sonship implies. In the words of Principal Fairbairn: "It is the veriest nominalism to speak of the adoption of a man who never was a son, for the term can denote nothing real. The legal fiction has a meaning and a use only where it represents or pretends to represent something in the world of fact; but to speak of the 'adoption' of a creature who is in no respect a son, is to use a term which is here without the saving virtue of sense."\*

To affirm, however, on such grounds that all men are still the sons of God, in the sense in which the New Testament uses that term, would be a most perilous mistake. For wherever men have allowed themselves to be carried over from the affirmation of the universal Fatherhood of God to this, its apparently logical conclusion, a most serious misconception of the entire work of redemption has followed. The New Testament constantly affirms that men become sons of God through Jesus Christ, implying that out of Him they can not lay claim to the privilege. Thus St. John says: "But as many as received Him, to them gave He the right *to become* children of God, even to them that believe in His name; which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." According to

\*The Place of Christ in Modern Theology, p. 446.



this not only must men *become* sons of God, but only those who believe in Jesus Christ and share in the blessing of a new birth from above can even claim the *right* of becoming sons. Our Lord brings out substantially the same thing in the Sermon on the Mount, where He says, "Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you, *that ye may be the sons of your Father which is in Heaven;*" implying that, while God continues to be our Father in heaven, we must comply with certain conditions in order to be His sons. We must exercise the same love wherewith He loved us, even to the extent of loving our enemies; otherwise we have no claim to the right and privilege of sonship. And this is the tenor of the whole New Testament.

Our second question, therefore, we must answer by saying that all men are no longer by nature the sons of God; only those who are again restored to the privilege through the mediatorial work of our Lord. The marred image of their Father remains in them as the basis on which they may again be adopted; but they must be adopted, before they can again take their place in the family of God.

Coming back, then, once more to our twofold question, we say that the true state of the case demands this apparently paradoxical answer: "God *is* the Father of all men, but men *become* sons of God." \* The latter is possible, because the former continues true. Though pained by the fact that His children have despised His love, God still continues to love them; and that seeking, sorrowing love of a Father's heart becomes the basis for their restoration, just as it was the motive for their creation in the beginning.

How now shall we conceive of this adoption,† by which the

\* Doctrine and Life, Stephens, p. 75.

† *Υιοθεσία* seems to occur but five times in the New Testament, and not at all outside of St. Paul's Epistles. (Rom. 8, 15, 23; 9, 4. Gal. 4, 5; Eph. 1, 5.) Adoption is doubtless the only word that translates it; but it scarcely conveys to us the fulness of meaning, which the original conveyed to the Greek mind. We get our word from the Latin *adoptio* (*ad* + *optare*, to choose for, propably for one's self), and it still has much of the Roman legalism about it; it approaches the subject from the standpoint of what it confers and gives to

prodigal, after he has forfeited his place in the Father's house, is again received into favor? Very evidently it must be something more than a mere legal fiction, by which he is accounted a son because of what some one else has done, without himself becoming in reality all that is implied in the relation of sonship. He must be freed from all the evil effects of his wanderings and apostasies, and he must be lifted into the full realization of what was originally involved in the divine ideal of the relation; and inasmuch as the relation is both vital and moral, the adoption must include both restoration and perfect realization in both respects.

There must, first of all, be a restoration. The prodigal must be restored to the position in the Father's house, which he has willfully and wickedly left. This implies on the one side forgiveness, and on other the bestowal of a new portion in the place of that which he has squandered. As long as the consciousness of guilt remains upon his conscience, he cannot enter the home with the spirit of a son; and as long as he continues in his miserable, bankrupt condition, with his whole portion squandered and destroyed, he is not in a position in which he can again respond to the requirements of sonship. Even more than that. By his creation he was a son in possibility, but he failed to attain to the blessings of sonship, because he failed to realize what was involved in that possibility. Now that he may be a son indeed, his adoption must include such a discipline as will bring him to the realization of those possibilities; and, hence, while he may receive the Spirit of adoption from the moment he re-enters the Father's house, the adoption itself can become complete, only when he has now learned to respond in full to the Father's love. Hence, St. Paul, speaking of the whole creation groaning and

the one adopted; it is *to take and treat as a child*; and so it contains scarcely a suggestion of any change wrought in the person himself. *Υιοθεσία*, on the other hand, presents the idea from just the opposite standpoint. Compounded of *υἱός*, a son, and *τίθεσθαι*, to place, or to make one something, it carries with it the idea of actually making the adopted one a son, not simply admitting him to certain privileges, but *actually making him all that the relation of sonship implies*.

travailing in pain together until now, goes on to say: "And not only so, but ourselves also, which have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, *waiting for our adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body.*"\*

It must be evident at once that these are blessings which can be bestowed only by a Father's love. He alone can forgive the apostasies and wanderings. He alone can restore the wasted goods. He alone can provide the discipline needed, for the realization of His ideal.

These blessings He bestowed through His Son, by whom at the beginning He made the worlds. Being from all eternity the absolutely perfect realization of the divine ideal of sonship, the Son, not the Father nor the Holy Spirit, came down to restore the filial relation which had been broken by the Fall. Viewed from this standpoint, His incarnation and life have a peculiar significance. As the eternal archetype of all created sonship, He came down to earth and realized the divine ideal of humanity, first of all lifting it up into personal union with His own life, and then fully realizing the filial relation in created, human form. Emptying Himself of His glory, He took upon Himself our humanity; not, however, as it came from the hand of its Maker in the beginning, but in its ruined and lost condition, in that "far country," where, as a prodigal, the race had wasted all its original endowments in riotous living. From that place, and in that condition, He was the first one to make the weary journey homeward to the Father's house; and, in making it, He endured all the misery and pain, which the journey under such conditions implied. He had to encounter all the temptations, all the scorn, and all the persecution, which the "citizen of that country," whose service He renounced, could heap upon Him. Then followed the misery and pain, as in that weak condition, footsore

Rom. 8: 23. "*Whilst we wait for the adoption of children.* It is true, believers *have* already this blessing (verse 15), but only as *inward* relation and as divine *right*, with which, however, the objective and real state does not yet correspond. Thus, looked at from the standpoint of *complete realization*, they only receive *υιοθεσίαν* at the Parousia, whereupon the *ἀποκάλυψις τῶν υἱῶν τ. θεοῦ* and their *δόξα* ensues." Meyer, *Com. in loco.* p. 329.

and alone, He accomplished the long journey. Mysteriously, all the ills and sorrows of our ruined state fell upon Him. He bore "our griefs and carried our sorrows." He was "stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted." He was "wounded for our transgressions," "bruised for our iniquities," and the "chastisement of our peace was upon Him." Yet poor, despised, and weary as He was, He made the journey alone, doing all the Father's will, and realizing at every point the fullness of the filial relation. Enduring all the suffering and sorrow which that journey implied, He went before us in the way we must go, if we would return to our home; "for it became Him, for whom are all things and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through suffering." At the darkest part of the road He might indeed pray, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me;" yet even in the midst of that terrible darkness He was ready to exclaim, "Not my will, but thine be done." Having thus, even though He was a Son, learned obedience by the things which he suffered, He conquered death and hell, having joined our humanity forever into personal union with His divinity, and having thus lifted it into the perfect realization of that divine Sonship which was His peculiar glory from all eternity.

And we now become sons of God through Him. As he raised our humanity into the perfect realization of sonship by personal union with His divine life, so are we put into the way of realizing our sonship by being raised into union with Himself through faith in Him. By a new birth from above, we share in His life, and He becomes our elder brother. In the mystery of that new birth there comes to us the forgiveness of our past transgressions; we again become members of the heavenly family; and receiving the spirit of adoption, we cry, Abba, Father. Even more than that. We become heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ; in the place of the portion which was wasted in our apostasy we receive a new inheritance; and in the strength of the gifts and graces which are therein supplied, we begin to respond to the Father's love and to do His will. Our whole life then becomes a

discipline, in which we learn more and more to realize what is implied in the ideal of our sonship; and when finally we shall have been fully delivered from all the effects of the Fall, and when we shall have realized all that is implied in the relation, then, and not until then, will we become sons, indeed, with all that the name implies, and then only will our adoption become full and complete.

#### IV.

### THE OLD TESTAMENT IN ITS RELATION TO SOCIAL REFORM.\*

BY REV. PHILIP VOLLMER, PH. D., PHILADELPHIA. .

Socialism is an international movement which seeks to overthrow existing social and economic institutions, and proposes a co-operative form of production as a substitute for the existing competitive system. Socialism must not be confounded with Anarchy, which demands the total abolition of the state, the family and religion.

The "Social Question" is the absorbing topic of the day among all thinking people in Europe, especially in Germany. In the last election the Social-Democratic party polled over two millions of votes for their representatives in the German Reichstag. To arrest their growth and crush the movement, special laws have been enforced with all severity, but without perceptible success. Even the army is being saturated with their teachings. It has been supposed that their doctrines could never obtain in our own land of freedom and plenty, but we have discovered that German Socialism has been largely imported, has taken root and is showing a vigorous growth even among American workmen. Wendell Seelye, of Amherst College, says: "There are probably 100,000 men in the United States to-day whose animosity against all existing social institutions is hardly less than boundless."

But the present strength of Socialistic organizations in the United States concerns us less than their *prospective* numbers.

Men of thought, therefore, view the future with extreme apprehension, and a German writer said lately: "We are apprehending a revolution in comparison with which the French Revolution of 1789, and the Paris Communistic uprising of 1871 are only child's play. The crisis will pass over, just as the

An essay to which the Bloomfield Alumni Prize was awarded.

Peasants' War of 1525 passed over, but it will be far more disastrous for both combatants."

In view of all this it is singularly strange that even Christian thinkers fail to consider the most valuable hints which the Old Testament offers for the solution of the social problem. Most men forget, if they have ever known, that the law of Moses is an almost inexhaustible treasury of social and economic wisdom. Dr. J. Strong is correct when he asserts in his excellent book, *The Message of Jesus to Men of Wealth*: "Jesus is the Saviour of society no less than of the individual souls; to disregard his teachings is poor statesmanship and bad political economy, as well as bad morals and irreligion." Many questions which threaten to shake up and tear our social fabric would not have reached their present formidable aspect if society had been a little less controlled by Roman jurisprudence and a little more by the principles of the Mosaic law. It would certainly be impracticable to transplant the law of Moses in its entirety into the constitutions of our modern Christian states, but its leading principles, its spirit, its methods and its aims, are worthy of the profoundest consideration by Christian statesmen and citizens.

The design of this paper is, therefore, to specify the principles of Socialism as it exists among the German people and elsewhere, and to bring out into clear statement the way in which the Old Testament provided a solution for the four main questions into which the so-called "Social Question" may conveniently be subdivided. In doing this, fairness requires that we state the Socialistic principles as they have been laid down in the officially adopted platform of the party, and not according to the opinions of individual leaders, much less according to the statements of their adversaries. The movement being international, the statement of principles in the "Programme" of the German Socialists will be found to be essentially the same among their adherents everywhere. Many embittered and enraged Socialists may be induced to open their hearts again to the benign influences of religion when it is shown to them that their Heavenly Father is not at all indifferent even to their material welfare, and that

3,000 years ago, among his ancient people, He provided already a solution for the evils under which they suffered.

### I. PROPERTY.

First in importance among the burning social questions stands the property question, *i. e.*, the war against private and the advocacy of common property. The peculiar conception of property, of wealth and their acquisition is not accidental, but fundamental to the whole Socialistic system, its very centre. In giving up the battle against private property, Socialism would give up itself. Many people have the mistaken idea that the Socialists demand an "equal division" of all property. Just the opposite of it, Communism, *i. e.*, the undivided common possession of the soil, the instruments of labor, raw material and capital, is his end and aim. One of their organs, *The People's State*, writes (1871, No. 80), "Communism is Socialism carried to its logical end." Consequently the first demand in its official "Programme" is as follows: "Emancipation of labor requires the transformation of all private property into common or public property, and an equitable division of the product of labor." And Proudhon, in his classical sentence, goes so far as to assert, "Property is theft." Thus we see that Socialism opposes the very principle of private ownership, and not simply the evils connected with it.

Each conception, the current one of individual and the Socialistic one of common property, contains one-half of the truth. The Old Testament unites the two and makes them a harmonious whole. Its leading principle touching the question of property, is found in the words, "Thus saith the Lord, the land is mine, for ye are strangers and sojourners with me." (Lev. 25 : 23.) This declaration plainly shows that for the Israelite absolute possession, as we understand it, did not exist. Jehovah is the Lord of all the earth, and Canaan, too, is His. The people are "strangers and sojourners with Him," as it were, but tenants and usufructuaries of the same. Only with these restrictions, Palestine was called the property of Israel. And as such it was subdi-



vided into tribal and family property (Numb. 26: 53; 33: 54.) But not only was this division made on a basis of perfect equality; there were besides three highly important provisions against a possible accumulation of landed property on the part of a few individuals. The leading principle of the following three provisions was that no one had the power to *sell* his possessions absolutely and for all time.

1. The king has a direct and binding commandment against accumulating riches (Deut. 17: 17).

2. The "right of ransom" gave to the seller an opportunity to buy back his property at any time at selling price; indeed, it was his privilege to deduct whatever benefit had accrued to the buyer in the meantime. Even the relatives could lay claim to this privilege (Levit. 25: 24).

3. At all events, the Year of Jubilee returned to the original owner all his real estate, and the selling price was determined in accordance with the provision (Levit. 25: 14).

The great benefits of such laws are found in the fact that, though a man might be compelled by adversity to sell his property, yet he was thereby not left in hopeless poverty, while on the side of the rich an undue accumulation of real estate and capital was prevented.

By the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," which was enforced by many minor provisions of the law, this equitably divided property was protected from injury. See Ex. 24: 4; Deut. 22: 1; Gen. 43: 13; Levit. 6: 5.

This brief survey of the most vital of all social problems, the property question, brings out the sharp contrast between the spirit of the Mosaic law and the spirit of our modern conceptions of property. The latter makes man the absolute owner, while the former declares that he is but the steward of his possessions. The Mosaic law is, therefore, a bulwark against social revolution from above as well as below, and is equally removed from undue accumulation as from unnatural equalization of property. The doctrines of the Old Testament with reference to property are therefore, not mere obsolete notions, but they contain many pr

tical hints, and show us in what spirit God would have his people of to-day approach the solution of the social problem. For the belief in the sovereign ownership of God throws a divine sanction around the individual stewardship of man. It makes the reward of industry and fruits of toil, the house of honesty and the inheritance of virtue, the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, sacred and inviolable. It says to the wild mob as well as to the greedy despot, to the cheating trader as well as to the bold brigand, to the crafty devisers of financial traps as well as to the furtive pickpocket, "Thou shalt not steal." Peace and order comes into society when men recognize for themselves and their fellows that all they have fairly inherited and fairly earned is their possession because God, the owner of all things, has put it into their hands, simply as a trust.

## II. POVERTY AND WEALTH.

According to the Socialistic gospel, Communism is to level the differences between poverty and wealth. A brief glance at these is, therefore, a natural sequence to the discussion of the property question.

It is an undeniable fact that the contrast between wealth and poverty is great and on the increase. The rich grow richer and the poor become poorer. It is, therefore, the duty of every philanthropist to help bridge over this yawning chasm. The modern state, especially in Europe, attends to this duty better than formerly, and tries by numerous laws (accident insurance, Sunday laws, cash salaries, laborers' saving funds, etc.,) to stem the tide of poverty. A large number of private enterprises (charities, relief associations, building societies) are working toward the same end. But Socialism looks with contempt upon all these exertions and proposes to do away with the difference between rich and poor by totally abolishing individual property and establishing joint ownership. In their "Programme" they declare: "The dependence of the working classes in modern society is the root of all misery and subjection in all its forms. We, therefore, demand a progressive income tax, the abolition of all indirect

taxes which press heaviest upon the poor, a normal work day and the prohibition of Sunday as well as of child labor."

Now let us see what directions God has given to mitigate the great contrast between the rich and the poor. In so doing we shall find that all laws for the protection of the poor are based on the principle that *every Israelite must at least have the necessities of life*. In detail we find the following laws:

1. In the "Sabbath Year" the stranger, the hired servant, the widows and orphans are to have their part of all that grows alone (Levit 25 : 3-7).

2. Besides the Levites, the stranger, the widows and orphans are to have one-tenth of the income every three years (Deut. 26 : 12).

3. During the harvest, whatever grew on the border of the field, also the leavings, also the forgotten sheaf, belonged to the poor (Levit. 19 : 9 ; Deut. 24 : 19).

4. By special command of Jehovah, it was the right of the poor to take part in the feast at the offering of the first fruits, and at the high festivals of sacrifice. Strangers, widows and orphans were included in this (Deut. 16 : 10). Our Lord Jesus repeats this command in Luke 14 : 12, and St. Paul impresses it upon the Church in 1 Cor. 10 : 13.

5. A very peculiar law, entirely unique in its way, is that forbidding the taking of all kinds of interest among Israelites. An Israelite is to regard the lending of money as a gift of love, not as a money-making transaction (Deut. 23 : 19).

6. The debtor was allowed to select himself the forfeit and carry it to his creditor, and the latter had no right to enter the debtor's house and take from him the necessary implements as security (Ex. 22 : 26).

7. Moreover, the law takes pleasure in speaking of the poor as peculiarly an object of God's care, and often calls him "thy brother or neighbor who is in poverty" (Ex. 22 : 23).

As the Year of Jubilee is sure to put an end to all poverty, because every one comes into possession of his ancestral property, therefore all these rules have the one object, to prevent the ex-

istence of a pauper class or proletariat. No abject poverty, no pauperism, no death from actual want of a piece of bread, while certain rich men are clothed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously every day! This has been the will of God 3,000 years ago; this is the will of God to-day. And when the spirit, not the letter, of these old poor laws will guide the modern legislator, then the day of the solution of this social question is dawning.

### III. CLASS DISTINCTIONS.

Socialism says: When everything belongs to everybody, there will not only be no poverty but also no difference in rank. With plutocracy, aristocracy also will fall. A discussion of this point, therefore, follows naturally the two preceding ones. It is an axiom of Socialism that different classes among society cannot live in peace with each other. Everything that increases the intensity of the battle of the masses against the classes is, therefore, heartily welcome, especially the strikes. The *Social Democrat* (1872, 40) writes: "As long as there are different ranks and classes among men, just so long will philanthropy remain unresurrected. Socialism believes philanthropy to be possible only where there is perfect equality. As long as there are privileged classes, high or low, hatred seems to have a natural sway." Consequently the declaration of the "Programme" is: "We strive for the abolition of all social and political inequality, of all exceptional laws, and equal education for all."

What Socialism strives for, Israel possessed. Unlike all European nations, Israel knows no difference in rank. No artificial barrier destroys social equality in her precincts. The underlying thought and principle for this condition we find in Levit. 25: 55: "For unto Me the children of Israel are servants; they are my servants whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt." The hundreds of thousands are thus brought, by this declaration, into one class, whose central power thrones high above them, to be sure, but which nevertheless lives in their midst and desires to raise them to His serene height. The social foundation of the whole structure is unity, but not in the sense of uniformity. The people of

Israel formed an organism of many members. Princes stood at the head of the twelve tribes; elders rule the families; the house father is the head of the household. A senate of seventy elders holds the highest power. Questions of particular importance to the community were settled at specially called gatherings of the people. We have here the sketch of a representative form of government, which in principle is fully up to our modern constitutions. But beyond these natural divisions there were no differences in rank. The king, as well as the High Priest, could choose a wife from any family. Every Israelite paid the same tax from his twentieth year up, and (Ex. 30:13) expressly commands: "The rich shall not give more and the poor not less than the half shekel," and as this poll-tax expresses man's relation to Jehovah, this law means to show that socially and politically there is no difference between individuals. Wealth does not insure privileged social standing; on the contrary, Jehovah repeatedly calls Himself the friend of the poor. Even the tribe of Levi is to receive the tenth not as a privilege of rank, but to make up for the fact that they received no tribal possessions.

No classes, no hierarchy, no proletariat, no social privileges—this is the happy condition of this people! Much hollow pride on the one hand, and much slavish subjection on the other, is thus nipped in the bud. The social problem, which like a lurid sunset seems to prophecy a stormy future, was settled for Israel long ago. Fortunate people! That which modern civilization prizes as her highest attainment, which has cost and will cost streams of blood to flow, that was yours fully three thousand years past; not by humanly invented theories, but through the law of Jehovah.

#### IV. LABOR AND THE LABORER.

Even in the dominion of Socialism man must work, communism and equality in rank notwithstanding. The circle of the four social questions thus closes fitly with the examination, how the work should be done according to Socialistic ideas and how according to the law of Moses.

Very explicit is here again the declaration of the "Pro-

gramme :” “Labor is the source of all wealth, and as labor for the common welfare is alone possible through society, therefore society should have the common benefit of, and at the same time be under obligations to participate in labor. We, therefore, demand the abolition of the iron wage system, the extermination of extortion in every form, the prohibition of Sunday labor, child labor and all male labor detrimental to health or morals ; laws protecting the life and health of the laborer, sanitary supervision of factories and workmen’s homes, regulation of prison work.”

The relation of the Old Testament to labor reform is manifold. First of all it ennobles labor by the commandment to our first parents “to till the ground,” that is, to work. Among the Greeks, the Romans and the old Teutons labor was considered dishonoring for the free man ; slaves and women were supposed to labor. Then, in the Fourth Commandment, not only rest on the seventh day, but also work on the six other days, is directly commanded. The law sees, therefore, in every member of God’s people a laborer. Strictly speaking, it does not acknowledge a social difference between employer and employee at all ; capital is not to become a power over labor. All Israelites are servants of Jehovah, each one placed by him in his appointed place of labor, be it mental or manual. A life of pure enjoyment, intellectual or material, has no inherent worth or value. Idleness, though it be decked in purple and fine linen, is sin in itself.

This routine of daily duties is relieved by the second part of the commandment, to rest upon the seventh day—master, servant, children, animals—all. With this command God has established an institution which is becoming more and more appreciated even by modern science, as a necessity for man and well ordered society. And it is a matter of no little importance that the Socialists in their “Programme” demand prohibition of Sunday labor, and in the German Reichstag voted unanimously in favor of more stringent Sunday laws.

The law of Moses distinguishes between three kinds of laborers. The first of these was the *day laborer*. So that his freedom may not be interfered with, Deut. 24 : 14 provides that his

wages are to be paid each evening. The second class, the *servants*, are bound to the master's house, though only for a few years. In the seventh year, but certainly in the Year of Jubilee, they were free. "And then," says the law, "thou shalt not let them go empty-handed" (Deut. 15: 12-15). A just and gentle conduct toward his servant is impressed upon the master (Levit. 25: 43). In spiritual things, Sabbath rest and feast days, these servants were to be treated like the free. His murder was punished by the death of the murderer; cruel treatment secured his freedom immediately (Ex. 21: 20). The third class, the *serfs*, was not to be entered by the Israelite except of his own free will (Levit. 25: 39). But a Jewish servant could become a serf, in case he did not desire to take advantage of the seventh year which set him free (Deut. 15: 16). The children of a servant to whom his master gave one of his maid-servants as his wife also belonged to the class of serfs. This kind of service seems to throw a dark shadow upon the bright picture of the social order depicted in the Old Testament. No doubt it does not come up to the ideal. But as in America, so in Israel, there was a constant battle of the ideal against human hard-heartedness, and so God permitted, "for their hardness of heart," an institution of which he did not approve. But with special emphasis the law impressed upon the masters tender consideration, mild treatment and humanity, so that in reality serfdom was little more than a name. And even that we do not find in the Old Testament.

These Israelitish laborers were in more than one sense in a better condition, freer from care, in many respects more protected and independent than to-day thousands of laborers who sigh under the burden of our present social conditions.

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The above four points form the quintessence of the "social question" in all lands. Other points might be mentioned, but they are either of minor importance, or simply practical applications of those principles, or opinions of individual leaders for

which the movement as such cannot with fairness be held responsible, as, for instance, free love, common education of the children, antagonism against all religion, etc.

The celebrated economist Leroy says: "In all things we are brought back to the same conclusions, that there is nothing truly efficacious, nothing solid and lasting for society outside of the Gospel, outside of the Christian spirit and outside of Christian fraternity." The ethical and social value of the New Testament is to-day almost universally conceded. But our present investigation has shown that also the Old Testament already contains laws, provisions and regulations which, though they are not to be slavishly imitated nor bodily transplanted into our modern soil, will, as to their spirit and principles, serve as a faithful guide for all who are working at the solution of the social problem. And social reformers should, therefore, always heed the advice given to Joshua. "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein; for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success" (Josh. 1: 8).



## V.

### HIGHER CRITICISM.

BY REV. ELLIS N. KREMER, D. D.

Higher criticism is the application to the study of the Bible of the same rules and principles which obtain in the criticism of any work of literature. It is, in brief, literary criticism.

Dr. Willis K. Beecher defines Higher Criticism as, "of course, the scientific search after the truth in regard to the literary structure and peculiarities and authorship of writings."

When this is applied to the Bible it is a line of work which is worthy of earnest and prayerful attention. It demands, however, not only learning and a sound judgment, but a reverent and believing attitude towards the Bible.

The objection to Higher Criticism lies in the implication that it is the test of the Scriptures. This does not follow. It is evident that the Scriptures furnish the essential principle without which all criticism is valueless, viz., truth. Christ as the truth, and the Bible, as the revelation of Christ, become the test of criticism.

Criticism may be true both as to method and results, but false as to deductions.

*e. g.* Should criticism find in the Books of Moses words and phrases, or portions of the writings which indicate the hand of more than one writer, and intervals of time between the composition of different portions of the work, it does not follow that Moses is not the author of the whole. For it is a well-known principle, illustrated in the writings of every author, that the works of the past are the inheritance of the present.

Higher criticism has been used so largely for destructive criticism that it is difficult to overcome a prejudice against the term. Many causes may exist for this prejudice. We instance two.

I. The reverence with which we regard the Word of God is shocked when confronted by criticism of its structure or any part

of its contents. We may recognize our obligation to the critic for clearer light thrown on some passages, and for the removal of difficulties which we have reverently and quietly endured as beyond our understanding. Yet we inwardly rebel against the term.

The word criticism suggests to many minds opposition to the object criticised, unfavorable criticism, rather than careful examination of it. From this view we need to be delivered.

II. The higher critics themselves are largely responsible for this prejudice. Many of them are destructive as to their methods and purpose. They hang weighty conclusions against the truth of the Scriptures on the most insignificant pegs of alleged contradictions in the record. They manifest a purpose to break down rather than to build up the faith of believers. They use old and worn-out arguments clothed in modern verbiage and parade them as new. They ignore or slightly notice pertinent objections to their own reasoning. They assume certain things to be true, argue from them as if they have been proven, and assert their conclusions to be facts when they are no more than assumptions. Some of them add to this a professed veneration for the Bible as containing, in some form and somewhere, the revelation of God, while others class it with the sacred myths and religious books of heathen religions. These men call themselves the genuine higher critics; they rejoice in the name; they boast of their freedom from traditionalism. They arrogate to themselves the knowledge requisite to the proper estimate of the text and construction of the Bible, and class as unlearned those who have not waded through all the nonsense written by generations of their kind. They do not see that right principles are as necessary for the criticism of the text as a collection of facts; that many of their alleged facts are not proven; that even if they were proven the deductions which they make from them are not necessary consequents.\* These two causes have tended to create and foster a prejudice against the term Higher Criticism until some have become foolishly afraid of it, and others fail to see the

\*See a condensation of Dr. Josef Ritter's critical work, for a recent illustration of the methods of destructive critics. Lit. Digest, Jan. 18, 1896.

service which has been rendered to the cause of truth by the patient labors and superior scholarship devoted to the examination of the Bible.

The fact that higher critics of the reverent and believing order are compelled to define their position against those of a destructive tendency or purpose shows that the term is an unfortunate one. It is a definition which needs defining.

It is difficult to see, however, how the use of it could be avoided. It is to be regretted that the name has been made the occasion for the persecution and harsh condemnation of good men, whose chief offence seems to have been their scholarship and the fact that they are higher critics.

Coming back to Dr. Beecher's definition, and substituting the word Bible for writings, the question arises: Is such criticism legitimate?

Before taking up the question some words with regard to the Bible are necessary.

The church in the beginning could exist without Scriptures. The necessity for it was superseded by reason of the long lives of the generations of believers from Adam to Abraham. Adam to Lameck, Lameck to Shem, Shem to Abraham, is the line through whom it was possible to transmit the promises revealed by God. There is much reason to believe, however, that Scriptures existed before those of Moses. It is rational to suppose that men of active minds and deep religious faith and hope should commit the heavenly promise to writing. That the Holy Spirit should so move them is in harmony with our knowledge of His activity. Further, there are in the judgment of scholars indications in the Bible itself which amount almost to positive evidence of the existence of such documents. In the work assigned him by the Holy Spirit, Moses may have used such writings, even as his own writings were undoubtedly used by inspired men who wrote after his death.

The Christian Church existed for some time without the New Testament. There were living witnesses able to declare the wonderful works of God.

As Scriptures became a necessity for the continued existence and growth of the Old Testament Church, so did they for the New. God did not leave Himself without witnesses. He has given this witness, to accord with the peculiar nature and needs of humanity, in writings, the safest and most satisfactory way for its communication and preservation. That the Bible has been able to sustain the attacks against it is a sure testimony to the wisdom and goodness of God in making known and transmitting His revelation by means of it. Traditions, or even monuments of stone or brass, could never have stood the test of ages as the Bible has done, without the intervention of a perpetual miracle for their protection.

As Jesus said of the Sabbath we can say of the Bible, "It was made for man." Its preservation is assured to us not only on the ground of its truth and divine origin, but because man needs it.

The Bible is "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." For these purposes it is to be used. If the emphasis be placed on "profitable" it will come forth from every assault with flying colors. For wherever its precepts have been heeded it has exalted the life of the nation in righteousness.

The Bible is not a work on science, general or particular. It is a revelation. It is more than a record of revelation, for it contains the words of God which are said to be, "spirit and life." As the setting is necessary for the usefulness and beauty of the diamond, so the Bible contains much in the form of human language and arrangement which is necessary to set forth the words of God. But the latter glorifies the former, so that the whole work is properly called the Word of God, even as the diamond gives its name to the stone and to the setting which holds the stone.

The Bible stands alone among all the books of the ages because of its truth, its wisdom, its beauty, its righteousness; its lessons for the regulation of our earthly life, civil, social, domestic and personal, and of our life with regard to God; its power to console, to inspire and to guide; its exposure of the inborn sin-

fulness of the race and its promise of the rest and peace of the Heavenly Kingdom ; its revelation of man's origin and yet more glorious destiny. But the great significance and worth of the Bible lies in the fact that it bears witness to our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, the Revealer of the Father, the Saviour of men.

This, at least, is what St. John claims for his Gospel ; what the Saviour claims for the Old Testament, and presumably, therefore, what the whole Bible is.

All that can be said of it in other respects can be said of it because of this fact, that it testifies of Christ. It cannot be substituted for Christ. But in pointing to Him, and leading men to believe in Him and to follow Him, it accomplishes its most important work.

For this reason the man who believes the earth is square because the Bible speaks of "the four corners of the earth," but who has received its testimony to Jesus and has accepted Him with a penitent and believing heart, knows more of the real power of the Bible than the most gifted scholar who reads and studies the Hebrew text and the ancient versions, but who rejects the Redeemer whom it proclaims. He knows more also of its contents. He has learned and experienced its deepest truth, its most glorious fact.

To assert this is not to set a premium on ignorance. The Bible is not a geography, but the setter-forth of mysteries which appeal to faith.

Whatever difficulties are encountered by the student of the Bible, he will yet find it impossible to account for its existence without accepting the direct agency of God in its formation. It calls for a greater stretch of belief to ascribe the book to uninspired men, or to account for it on the theory of the evolution of purely human religious purposes and hopes, than it does of faith to receive it as the word of God.

St. Paul says, "all Scripture is given by inspiration." St. Peter says, "Holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;" and "the spirit that was in them testified" of

Christ; the Epistle to the Hebrews says, "God spake in times past unto the Fathers by the prophets." The prophets themselves often prefaced their utterances by "Thus saith the Lord." They believed and accepted the Scriptures as the rule of faith and practice because they were given under the inspiration of God and expressed His will. Our Saviour said, "They cannot be broken," and "they testify of me."

The Bible is, therefore, divine. But it is not only divine; it is divine-human. The human element which contributed to the formation and preservation of the Bible is liable to err. Therefore, unless God guarded His servants against every form of error, we must expect to find some imperfections in the sacred record. We know that He did not so guard them against sin. They were holy men, but the Bible testifies to their human frailty.

As to the purpose which God had in view when He gave the Scriptures, He did preserve His servants against error; as to minor things it is rational to suppose that He left them largely to their own wisdom and accuracy. That He did so is evident from the Scriptures themselves.

The Biblical idea of inspiration is expressed in the prayer, "O Lord, open Thou my lips; and my mouth shall show forth Thy praise." Holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Their individuality was not lost, as is evident from the words they spoke; they rise above the level of uninspired men, but reach not the heights of divine accuracy. Sometimes, it is true, the Holy Ghost speaks through them, so that we have the very words of God, though ordinarily they themselves spoke in their own language under the impelling power of the Divine presence within them.

The idea that God overruled His servants and made them so respond to His spirit that every word of the Bible is exactly what God himself would have said and written had the Scriptures come from His own hand, is not an original Christian view of inspiration. It comes from a Jewish source after the Old Testament canon was closed, and was promulgated to arrest, if pos

decay of Jewish faith. Its acceptance by Christian teachers has thrown a burden of defense upon the Church, which God did not intend and which the truth of His Word does not demand. "The words of the wise are as goads and as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies, which are given by one Shepherd." The fact that the Scriptures come from the one Shepherd secures to us their unity as to purpose; the many masters are the source of their beautiful variety as to literary contents. The one Shepherd has given us the infallible promises and truth of the Word; the many masters are the cause of the slight inaccuracies that are found therein.

The question arises: If there are mistakes in the Bible, how shall we know what to believe and what not to believe? We answer:

1. Inaccuracies as to minor details are not necessarily mistakes, for what we may know to be inaccuracies may not have been so to the writers, nor to the age in which they lived. The sands and heat of the great desert make a waste place on the face of the earth, contrasting unfavorably with the blooming vegetation of fertile land; and yet we can look upon the earth as a whole and with full hearts exclaim: "Thou hast done all things well!"

2. It is not so important *what* we believe, where faith is an act of storing the memory with facts or the acquisition of knowledge, as *how* we believe, where it is an act of surrender to and trust in the true object of faith, Jesus Christ.

3. True faith is wrought within us by Almighty God by means of His Word and Spirit. It makes no difference to the believer whether Abraham bought a burial place of the sons of Emmor, as Stephen tells us, or of Ephron, as Moses informs us; whether Christ cured two blind men in Jericho, or only one; whether the genealogical tables of Luke and Matthew can be reconciled or not. For while such facts are profitable for instruction, they are not the object of our faith. When God presents to us His Son in His Word, and we accept Him with a believing heart, we have the true contents of Scripture, whether we have received the

word from a perfect copy of the Bible or an imperfect one, from the original or from a translation, from the old version or from the new, from the Bible or from the preacher.

If we reject Him the most accurate version will be of no use to us as regards its primal purpose.

Faith is not adherence to a certain view of truth compelled by an external force (as the weight of authority), appealing to reason, or a threat, appealing to fear, or the parental wish, appealing to affection. All these elements may be recognized in faith; first stages, as it were, leading ever to something final and complete. Ultimately faith is an inward conviction and trust in Almighty God revealed in Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, our Saviour. From this central object of faith radiate, as the rays of light from the sun, the other great facts of revelation with which is bound up our proper apprehension of the glory and kingdom of God and the salvation of the soul. When one believes it is an acknowledgment and inward conviction of the truth of the Bible, which no criticism can break, and which, even if staggered for a moment by the necessity of giving up some things which we once thought to be true, will only learn to lean more fully and positively on the true substance of the Word, Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Saviour of men.

4. There is such a thing, we say it reverently, as laying too much stress on the accuracy of the Bible, as when it is so exalted as to make Jesus the Lord stand or fall with it. He is the strength and support of His word, and it is "spirit and life," because it is the mirror of His own unspeakable glory reflecting His brightness into the heart of the believers.

It is the foolish dream of the critic that by getting rid of the Fourth Gospel he can get rid of the Divinity of Jesus Christ; as if the Divinity of Christ were a doctrine, apprehended by the mind, and dependent for its truth upon the authenticity of the Gospel by St. John. It is Christ, the Godman, who makes the Fourth Gospel, and in fact the whole Bible, what it is. He lies at the back of the Word, in no sense dependent upon it, but irradiating with His presence the whole revelation of God, as this is given to



us in the Old and New Testament, first in the way of prophecy and promise and then in actual fulfillment.

To make Christ dependent upon the Bible, rather than the Bible dependent upon Him, may be an apparent exaltation of the Word of God; but it is in fact a playing into the hands of those doctors of criticism who are ever engaged by new methods, but with the same old spirit of Anti-Christ, in an endeavor to overthrow the Divine-human Redeemer whom the Scriptures reveal, by dissecting and disjointing the sacred text, and articulating it into the skeleton of an altogether different Being.

Our apprehension of the Lord, like that of Nathaniel, who exclaimed: "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the Prince of Israel;" or the once doubting Thomas, who cried: "My Lord and my God," must be by faith in Him. When we have this faith, wrought within us by the Divine Spirit and the Scriptures, which "are able to make us wise unto Salvation," too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the Bible. We shall then have received it on that side of our life to which it appeals, the spiritual side, and to the critic who declares "this" or "that" in the Scriptures cannot be true, we can answer in all humility, but with unwavering fortitude, whether this or that be true I know not, one thing I know, whereas I was blind now I see.

A careful reading of the Bible will compel us to admit that the sacred writers were left in a large measure to their own knowledge and ability, as may be seen from different accounts, given by different writers, of the same event.

The Bible is given to us as a whole, and speaking of it we say it is an inspired Book. But it contains the reasoning of wicked men, and the record of their sinful actions, with which the sacred writers do not agree and against which they protested. In making their record and in denouncing crime the prophets and scribes were not bound to a set form, as can be seen from the various accounts of the murder of John the Baptist. Facts and their results were the needful things, the particulars, while helpful and profitable, were not necessary. When the record was thus made up, it was the church which accepted the Scriptures which we now have, and rejected others.

There was no miraculous mark put by the Hand of God upon each book to guide as to what was inspired and what was not inspired, but the Church was left, in the work of selection, to the direction and counsel of the same Spirit who guided the writers abroad in the work of composition.

We need the influence of the same Spirit to properly discriminate between the revelation of God and the fallible teachings of men.

In the address of Stephen (Acts vii.) are several statements which contradict the old testament (ver. 4, 6, 16). These contradictions do not weigh against the inspiration of St. Luke. They might be regarded as holding against that of Stephen, but they are not sufficient to prove that he was not inspired. They are rather guides as to the degree and manner of inspiration. The fact that St. Luke records them argues in favor of the truthfulness of the record. Had he suppressed them, or corrected them so as to agree with the Old Testament, it might be suspected that he wrote for a purpose of his own rather than under the inspiration of God. But there they stand calmly confronting the critic, like the Sphinx of Egypt, inviting his scrutiny, but reflecting in no degree upon the hand that put them there.

Some explanation as to inaccuracies in the Bible are necessary for the child no less than for the learned scholar. Taught to believe that every word of the Bible is as God had given it, he wonders at the different accounts of the most familiar incidents. Peter's denial and the statement of three evangelists that "before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice," while St. Mark says "before the cock crow twice," is a case in point. The inquisitive child sees the contradiction and wants an explanation, often suffering from serious doubt in the silence of his own mind before he asks it. He may come by such questioning to lose the sense of the contradiction in the greater fact of the Saviour's compassion and learn from Peter's weakness the obvious lesson, "he that trusteth in his own heart is a fool."

But the explanation, whether wrought out by himself or given by another, leads him to see that the sacred writers wrote as they

thought. It is plain, from such discrepancies found in the Bible, that the Holy Spirit left His servants to their own knowledge and methods as regards the record of unimportant details, or the hand of the copyist is responsible for the superficial mistake. That the first explanation is the correct one is evident from the free way in which the sacred writers quote from the Old Testament, from their use of idioms, and expressions perfectly understood at the time, but to us inaccurate (as after three days he shall rise again), and from their use of such documents as they had at hand, as the genealogical tables (Matt., Luke 1 and 3).

Some of these disagreements are at present inexplicable, and must be held in the spirit of reverent and humble submission. But the testimony of the Bible to Jesus Christ is one consistent, harmonious and unbroken testimony. It has successfully resisted the persistent and continuous assault of unbelief and criticism, and is as strong to-day as when it was first spoken.

That the Bible commands reverent and adoring faith in the Lord Jesus Christ from the unlearned and learned is a higher tribute to its truth and inspiration than is all the praise we can give it. It is ever its own best defence.

Another human element which must be considered with regard to the preservation of the Bible is the copyist, in our day the printer. Are we to suppose that God so watched over the men who copied the Scriptures, and those who reproduced them in book form, as to guard them against all errors? Certainly not. There have been too many translations and revisions to admit such a thought.

Could we possess the one original authentic copy of each book of the Bible we might have a perfect book. But this is not possible, nor is it desirable. There may be seen already a tendency to Bibliolatry, and with such a Bible it is more than probable that many persons would worship it more than Christ and fix their faith on the book instead of on its Author. When Israel forgot God He allowed the ark to fall into the hands of its enemies.

From what has been said, it is evident that there is legitimate

room for Higher Criticism. Properly conducted it will result in the vindication of the Bible.

A physician, commenting on the cure of the demoniac immediately after the transfiguration, gave it as his opinion that the description of the possessed man was so full, so minute and so accurate that it could not have been fabricated, especially by a layman. The same gentleman speaking of the text, "the parents eat sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge," said: "There is a physical truth in the words which would escape the eye of the uninformed." This is one form of Higher Criticism, the application of science to the explanation of the text.

The language of the Scriptures, customs mentioned, historical statements, references to the heavens, earth, sea, winds and lightning, to instruments of music, weapons, etc., are proper objects of critical study.

Such study assists in fixing the time when and circumstances under which the parts of Scripture have been composed. In the 19th Psalm the natural kingdom and the revealed word are presented as witnesses to the glory of the Lord. The one does not contradict the other. We cannot expect a complete account of the creation in the Bible, but we may learn much of it there. So also from nature we may learn much which throws light on the Bible. In the fourth command we have what is solemnly stated to be the very words of God: "In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is." On its face it limits the work of creation to six days of twenty-four hours each. But in the first chapter of Genesis we read that the earth did not enjoy such a day as we have now, ruled by the sun by day and by the moon and the stars by night, until the fourth day. In the second chapter we find the word day applied to the whole period of creation. In the New Testament we read: "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." In the geological record we read that vast periods of time elapsed between the beginning of creation and the completion of the earth as a fit abode for man. The Jews and the Apostles may have thought that the world was made in six natural days. Many

Christians think so now. But the more intelligent Christian public never think or teach any such thing. Nor do they stumble at the words of the fourth commandment. But the removal of this difficulty is due to what is now called "Higher Criticism:" the careful study of the words of the Bible, and the study of its statements in the light of science. The story of creation instead of being used, as it once was, as an argument against the inspiration and the truth of the Bible, now elicits the wonder and praise of scientific believers and unbelievers alike, because of its marvelous conformity to the geological record as it has been demonstrated by careful observers. Among all the books and traditions of the remote past, none are so true to nature and the story of the rocks as the Bible.

The process was a painful one to the consciences of some Christians; it was heartlessly applied by skeptics in attempts to destroy the foundations of faith; but it has resulted favorably to both faith and reason. We have learned to know that criticism is not necessarily a search after mistakes, but a search for truth. If in such search we run against real or apparent mistakes we have no reason to quarrel with the process.

It is but reasonable to suppose that some such searching is implied in the words of Jesus, "Ye search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me." The fearless manner in which the Apostles used the Old Testament, overthrowing the pet theories of the schools, and making everything in history, promise and worship point to Christ, teaches us the need of ever keeping in mind the purpose of the Bible, but also encourages us in its fearless examination. We subject sacred books of other religions to the test of criticism, and we must be ready to submit our own to the same test.

We can do so with the firm confidence that the "Spirit and Life" of the Word will touch and heal the humble searcher for truth, while it may be the savor of death unto death to him who approaches it with an unready mind.

That the Word of God needs to be accompanied with the explanations of learned men, suited to the age in which they live,

is evident from the Bible itself. Such explanations are frequently inserted in the record: "The Passover, a feast of the Jews, was nigh;" "for the Jews, except they wash, eat not;" "though Jesus himself baptized not;" &c.

No one, we presume, would suppose that the Holy Spirit dictated these explanations.

Whether they were inserted by the original writer for the benefit of Gentile Christians, or added by a later copyist, as the marginal references have been added in some editions of the Bible, is difficult to determine. They show the free activity of the mind, and are certainly profitable for instruction, whatever may have been the cause of their presence in the sacred record. They do not weigh against the inspiration of the Scriptures, but are guides to show us how God's servants were inspired. The Spirit dwelt within them, guided them, taught them the truth, took of Christ's and showed it unto them. But He left them free.\*

In such cases as the Mosaic blessing, the very Holy of Holies of the Pentateuch, in passages of Isaiah where, as Dr. Stier† so forcible shows, the speaker and the one spoken of are both one, the I AM, the Jehovah, the Eternal Word, and in other portions of the Bible, the sacred writers were so moved by the Holy Spirit as to know and record the very words of God.

In the main this Divine power was the indwelling presence, the still small voice which Elijah felt. In other cases, as with Abraham, Moses and Samuel, it was the clear utterance of the Divine voice in spoken language, addressed to the ear as well as to the spirit and faith of God's servants.

While there is legitimate room for the reverent criticism of the

\*It is painful to notice that good and reverent men, controlled by a mistaken view of inspiration, have been found to object to such helps in the Scriptures as marginal references, analyses of the chapters, explanatory foot-notes, and in fact anything except the bare word itself. They think in this way to protect the integrity of the Bible, forgetting, that the very copies they print and use have been improved by explanations in the original manuscript, and by chapters, verses and punctuation marks in the printed editions.

†Words of Jesus.

Bible, and in such work the same principles can be applied as are used in other literary criticism, a further consideration of the Bible will show that such criticism is not only legitimate but necessary.

The following, among other human elements, are found in the Bible. History, description of localities, homes, manners, customs and allusions thereto; conversations, addresses, arguments; parables and allegories; statements of uninspired men and Satan; human experiences; matters of interest to the individual alone (as Paul's request with regard to his cloak, and his directions to Timothy as to the use of wine); popular superstitions (as the troubling of the pool at Bethsaida by an angel, and the inquiry of the disciples as to the man born blind); variations of language from the time of Moses to that of Malachi; styles of composition, poetical, prophetic, historical etc.; words foreign to the language of the text; references to obsolete customs.

It can be seen at once that with such a field of inquiry presented to the student he is bound to inquire because he is a student; and that such inquiry is necessary that the present age may understand the teaching of the past.

The claim which the Bible makes for itself, and which is made for it by Christians, calls for such inquiry. Such books as "Sinai and Zion," by one of our own pastors," and "The Land and the Book," have thrown light upon the Word. Why should not literary criticism conducted in the same reverent way do the same service?

It is a tribute to the worth of the Bible that the best scholarship has been enlisted in the critical study of its text, either for its overthrow or for its vindication.

In what manner should such criticism proceed?

1. A just and fair criticism can be expected only from one who is a firm believer in Christ, and who carries to his work a reverence for the Word of God and a desire to know and do its truth. Precisely the opposite of this is the case with many higher critics.

The claim made by some persons that they carry to the examination of the Bible an unbiased mind and criticize it as they

would any other book, allowing themselves to be determined by the facts discovered whether they be for or against the Bible, is preposterous. Unbelieving critics cannot do it. The Christian critic cannot, or at least ought not. If he does not have a strong and well defined bias in favor of the Word of God he has used it with very little profit to himself and others. This bias will hold his decision in abeyance when he runs against a difficulty in the text, and a seeming contradiction will receive from him the most careful attention.

Unbelievers and halting Christians may, as the result of their studies, give us important facts which may alter our view of certain portions of Scripture, but the believer alone can estimate such facts at their true worth and make them do justice to the Bible.

Many things in the Bible, since they can be analyzed and sorted by the human reason, are proper objects of criticism

But the substantial contents of the Bible, that which make it The Book, appeal to faith. They belong to the realm of mystery, and are therefore beyond criticism.

An object which cannot be defined cannot be criticised. Criticism is analysis, and it can reach only so far as the object can be analyzed.

The "Scientific search for truth in regard to the literary structure, peculiarities and authorship" of the Bible can be applied, so far as the unbelieving critic is concerned, only to the human element of the Bible. The revelation of God in Christ, salvation from sin, the future life, etc., cannot be defined by science, and therefore by it cannot be overthrown nor established. They may be rejected. But the critic is then in the position of attempting to disprove by reason that which he has simply set aside. He may object to the Bible for having such contents, but the contents themselves are beyond his reach.

And yet it is these contents which make the Bible the object of his criticism. His effort is to prove the human element of the Scriptures to be at fault, in order to disprove the Divine. He reasons from errors discovered in the text that the Bible is not what it claims to be, and, therefore, the revelation of God, the



offer of salvation, etc., are not genuine. But he has no way to prove that such a revelation and such promises could not be made nor accepted. He is confronted with the fact that, if made at all, they have been given in the Bible or else have been totally lost to the race.

It is here that the believing critic parts from the unbeliever. He knows that which he has believed. He finds the glory of the Bible to be that it reveals to faith what otherwise could not be known. And he finds that the Bible, which presents mysteries as objects of faith, is consistent with itself throughout.

2. The purpose of the Scripture should be kept in view. "These are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, ye might have life through His name."

To attempt the criticism of the Bible with an eye blind to the significance of Christ, or with the purpose of reflecting upon the perfection of His being, is sure to result in deception, however, many facts may be arrayed for the purpose. Facts are not necessarily truths, nor are they always used in the service of truth.

3. It follows from the above that due account must also be made of the testimony of Christ in favor of the Old Testament. Destructive criticism reasons from errors alleged in the Old Testament to the overthrow of Christ's veracity or competency as a witness. True criticism argues from the testimony of Christ to the authenticity and truth of the Old Testament. The first by destroying the Old Testament leaves us without a Saviour; the second by accepting Christ vindicates the Old Testament.

The frequent allusions and references made by our Saviour to the Old Testament shows that His acceptance of them was full and unreserved, and His testimony voluntary and purposed.

4. Probabilities and the united testimony of scholars, when they bear against the Bible, should not be received at once as facts. Too much credit has been given by Christian critics to the "weight of authority." The facts, or alleged facts, cited against the authorship of certain books may have many sup-

porters. These, however, may be, as they have been, "sheep following their leader;" in a few months or years the weight of authority may be on the other side.

Dr. McClintock, of Dublin, chose as the motto of his medical labors, "Observe carefully, infer cautiously." Criticism of the Bible should be slow, reverent and tentative.

What estimate is to be placed on Higher Criticism? Much in the way of stimulating our investigations; little or nothing in the way of fear.

The ministry, the church, the sacraments and the Bible shall stand as witnesses of Christ until He come, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth.

There are other reasons why the critics are not to be feared. They are continually at war among themselves. Like the Pharisees, Sadducees and Herodians they may unite against Christ, but left to themselves they will cut each others' throats. Pusey (on Daniel) shows them to be bold and presumptuous, forcing truth to the support of their own fancies.

Delitzsch says: "What a motley mixture of hypotheses recent criticism of Psalms 42, 43 spreads out before us." He shows that Vaihinger, Ewald, Hitzig, Cornill (Reuss agreeing with the latter) are positive and sure of the author, and the time and circumstances of the composition of the Psalms. But each one differs from all the rest, while Maurer takes another and a negative view. He adds: "*Quærendo elegantissimi carminis Scriptorum frustra se fatigant interpretes.*" We call to mind the feats of literary criticism with regard to Junius and the poems of Ossian. Bold and positive in assertion, but in results unsuccessful and vain.

The labors of such critics, however, are not to be despised, nor is criticism to be undervalued. This is a critical age; commerce, industries, politics, government, art, literature and science do not move on in well-worn ruts, but their objects, methods and claims are critically analyzed. In no department is the benefit of just criticism more evident than in medical science. Pasteur, Koch and the large number of brilliant and progressive physicians at

home and abroad, and the wonderful results achieved, testify to the benefits of criticism. These men are in sympathy with the object of their critical search, a necessary condition to true and legitimate criticism.

What should be the attitude of the church towards the higher critic? We mean the Christian critic—one who believes in Christ. We answer, love, patience and gentle forbearance, even if he should be regarded by many of the brethren as heretical. It should be the last resort, in order to purge a man of error, to publicly condemn him. Our faith does not rest ultimately on the Bible, but on Christ. If men have this faith, even with erroneous views of the Bible, they have the substance of the Bible and the best eventual corrective of their error.

To demand recantation of error without convincing the mind is simply the application of outward force. An error of conduct, as it is outward, can be corrected by outward means; an error of mind must be met by conviction wrought within the mind itself.

The proper way to convince the heart of sin, and to awaken it to a consciousness of God's mercy and love, is assertion; the clear, firm, unwavering announcement of the great facts of redemption which appeal to faith. But when we come to the criticising of words, phrases, Greek and Hebrew roots, etc., we are in an entirely different sphere. Here conviction is wrought by argument; and this in the past has been the final resort of the church itself, so that we may say the triumphs of her scholarship have added their glory to the triumphs of her faith. It does not follow, if the arguments of those in error, or held by the general consciousness of the church to be in error, cannot be met, that they are to be accepted as right. It is quite evident that the higher critic may have become, for the time, preëminent in learning, while the church has been advancing in faith. That to which he has arrived by the slow process of continued and close examination must be met in the same way. The church can reject his deductions without violating his rights, or, what is of more importance to the great body of believers, her own rights;

but until his arguments are met there should be a patient reserve with regard to them.

It is unquestionable that the opposite course pursued towards Servetus wrought permanent injury to the church. An eminent physician stated to the writer that the execution of Servetus withheld from the world the knowledge of the circulation of the blood for almost a century. This he considered as great a crime against science as Calvin felt his anti-Trinitarian views were a crime against faith. It gives an altogether false and dangerous emphasis to erroneous doctrine to make as much account of it as has been done in many church trials. The notoriety gained by the accused, and the credit of superior learning ascribed to them, prove a dangerous temptation to weak and volatile minds to assume an attitude of antagonism to settled creeds.

We owe a duty to reason no less than to faith. While in religion faith is exalted above reason, yet in its own sphere reason must take the precedence of faith. The Apostle Paul unhesitatingly appeals to both these functions, not only when addressing unbelievers as Felix, Agrippa and Festus, but believers. As remarked by a friend, "The structure and style of Paul's Epistles invite criticism. He himself calls for it." "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

The testimony of Jesus to the Old Testament has been already alluded to. It is deserving of more special attention, and this we have reserved for the conclusion of this paper.

Jesus calls the Scriptures the Word of God. David is said by Him to be inspired. He calls its prophecies predictions, not mere instruction; he announces the fulfillment of some of its predictions as having been accomplished.

He recognizes Moses as the author of sacred books. So also David, Isaiah and Daniel, the very writers against whom criticism has made the most persistent assaults, and, we may add, with the most unfair and illogical reasoning.

We have collected upwards of one hundred direct references of our Saviour to the Old Testament Scriptures, personages and

events as recorded by the evangelists. Some of his statements sound as if spoken in anticipation of recent critical attack.

It is interesting and profitable to study the attitude maintained by Christ towards the Old Testament, the use He made of it, and the honor He put upon it. He declares that not one jot nor tittle of the law shall pass till all be fulfilled.

At twelve years of age He reasoned with His teachers concerning it, and declared that in such duty He was "about His Father's business." He submitted to baptism at the hands of the last Old Testament prophet, in order to "fulfill all righteousness." He met the three temptations by falling back upon the Scriptures, saying each time, "It is written," and quoting from the Word of God.

When He preached his first sermon in His native town He declared that the prophecy of Isaiah was that day fulfilled in the ears of His townsmen. When arrested and His impetuous disciple drew his sword He rebuked him with the assertion of an Old Testament truth. He then declared that He could forthwith have angelic aid if He so desired, and added, "But how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that so it must be." On the cross He cried out, in the language of the Psalms, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me? But perhaps the most touching, and at the same time most sublime, of all is the statement of the beloved disciple, "After this Jesus knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the Scriptures might be fulfilled, saith, I thirst." He Who could lay down His life of Himself waited till the final moment when all was finished in the volume of the book in which it was written of Him, "Lo! I come to do Thy will, O God!" Then, and only then, He bowed His head and gave up the Ghost.

The life of Jesus was ruled by the Word of God; without Him that Word cannot be understood; without it His life is an unsolved riddle. His person, His office, His sufferings and triumph, His church and kingdom are there predicted and set forth. His fulfilment of that Word is one ground of our hope of the perpetuation and permanency of His own words, even to the end of the world.

He who, by Christian faith and love, has entered into sympathy with the sufferings of His Lord ; who has seen, step by step, the sad fulfilment of the 53rd of Isaiah ; who has heard the dying declaration of Jesus, must feel within his heart the firm conviction, Come what will, “the Scriptures cannot be broken ;” and must respond by cheerful and willing surrender to the authority of Him who declared, “Blessed are they who hear the Word of God and keep it.”

## VI. GOD IN THE CONSTITUTION.

BY REV. A. E. TRUXAL, D. D.

### GOD IN THE WORLD.

God is the Governor of the world. He is the Ruler of mankind. These propositions are readily accepted by the majority of men. But the question, *how* does God govern the world and rule among men is not so easily answered. Does He govern mankind from *without* or does He exercise His controlling power *in* mankind? Both propositions implied in this inquiry are no doubt in a measure true. There is an important sense in which God asserts His power upon men from without, though mediately rather than immediately. When God spoke to the people of old by the mouths of the prophets men received the word of God from without, yet that word became the power of God to govern them only to the extent that it was appropriated by the minds and hearts of the children of Israel. How God authenticated Himself and His will to the prophets, so that they could say, ‘thus saith the Lord,’ will, no doubt, always remain more or less a mystery. But it was God in them speaking, rather than God speaking through them. Under the new dispensation Christ spoke to men, and the Apostles spoke to men, and the Church by the Gospel continues to speak unto men. But it was God in Christ, and Christ by the Holy Ghost in the Apostles, that made their words the word of God; and it is the abiding presence of Christ by the Holy Spirit in the Church that enables her by the use of the Gospel to proclaim God’s word to the world. And then here again the word of God becomes a controlling and governing power only to the extent that divine truth and principles are taken up and absorbed into the ethical life of men. These principles, however, do not exist separate and independent of the personal Being of God. They go forth from His reason and will and unceasingly hold in the same.

We claim, therefore, that God governs mankind from within rather than from without. We hold to His transcendence and to His immanence in the world. God in mankind accomplishes His great and gracious purposes ; not in the old pantheistic sense, of course, but in the theistic conception which regards Him as a separate personal being and yet dynamically present in all creation.

#### THE STATE A DIVINE INSTITUTION.

The state is a divine institution. Not, however, because God in some outward way formed the state. If He had done so He would also of necessity have given men a specific form of civil government. He did neither the first nor the second. The conditions of man were such that made it an absolute necessity for the state to come into existence. Mankind was so constituted that it could not be developed and accomplish its mission without the state.\* The state has grown out of the nature of man. It is still growing. The idea of the state has not yet been fully actualized. The state is human as well as divine. The divine idea must work itself out in the life and experience of men. It must employ the human as material for its externalization. And nothing constituted of the human under its present limitations and restrictions can reach a perfect state in the present aeon. The perfect condition can only be approximated. As Americans, we believe that the true conception of the state is more fully realized in our country than anywhere else. The people of many other nations do not agree with this opinion. The views of men are always largely influenced by the environments out of which they have come and by which they are surrounded.

#### THE CHURCH A DIVINE INSTITUTION.

The church is a divine institution in a fuller and higher sense than the state. Christ instituted the church by appointing ordi-

\* "The state has been called a divine institution, and it is a necessity to man as a moral being, and would be necessary even if man were free from all evil passions or sinful disposition, because our moral life must be an ordered life in social relations."

Rev. Carroll Cutter, D. D. The beginning of Ethus, page 308.



nances to be observed, commissioning men to preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments, and by sending the Holy Spirit to quicken a spiritual life in the souls of believers and be their abiding comforter. But all this was, after all, very much in the form of seed. The kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed which grows into a large tree. The divine seed finds lodgment in man's religious nature. The church had to grow and develop in accordance with the conditions of mankind. These conditions are ever changing. Hence no outward form of the church in the way of organization could be set up in the beginning for all subsequent ages. But the principles and mission of the church, as announced by Christ and proclaimed by the apostles, as well as the constitution of mankind, make church organization a necessity. Ecclesiastical organization is, therefore, of divine right. But no particular form of organization can claim such right exclusively to itself. Any form of church government demanded at a given time by the then condition of the church and the world has a divine right upon which to base its existence. The leading forms of church organization have had a sacred right for their being. The correct form of church government depends on circumstances always. The same holds good also in regard to the state. We may agree that there is a "divine right of kings," but not any more so than that there is a divine right of emperors and presidents. The state exists by divine law and order, and, as a consequence, the offices and rulers of the state, whatever they be, have the same justification for themselves. The state exists first and the rulers come as a necessity. The state is, therefore the king is. So we say of the church. She exists by divine right and appointment. She must have organization. This demands offices and rulers too. Any form of organization that is demanded by the condition of mankind comes into existence by divine sanction. We believe that the Roman hierarchy was needed in past ages. We question whether any other form of government would have accomplished as much as it did. But the Roman hierarchy abused its trust and became vitiated by corruption. It was in the course of time found wanting and its

days were numbered, though the Roman Church may yet have some mission to fulfill. According to Dr. Schaff she still has a work to do. The leading forms of church government are the Congregational, Presbyterian and Episcopal. Each has its mission, and in this country they exist side by side in time and territory. The condition of things with us seems to require these different ecclesiastical organizations.

#### THE CHURCH AND STATE NOT THE SAME.

We say, then, the state is a divine institution, and so is the church. But they are not one and the same. They are to actualize two different ideas. Each has its sphere to occupy and its own mission to fulfill. Their relation to each other and adjustment one to another depend on conditions and circumstances.

In the ancient commonwealth of Israel church and state were very closely united with each other. Under the Christian dispensation the union of church and state has also prevailed to a large extent. Such has been the prevailing order in the countries of Europe from the time of Constantine down to the present day. As to the right or wrong of this arrangement we express no opinion other than to say that it may in times past have been best for the church and for mankind that a more or less close union existed between these two institutions. But we believe that the time is near at hand when all such unions ought to come to an end. The civilized nations of the earth have arrived at such a condition that, in our opinion, the church ought to be disconnected and separated from the state; when the church ought not to meddle with the affairs of the state and when the national government ought not to interfere with the ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs of the church; when each institution ought to confine its operations and activities to the sphere of its own peculiar mission.

#### IF UNITED, WHICH IS SUPREME?

When church and state are united the question arises as to which factor ought predominate in the union. Shall the church be subject to the state or the state to the church? Both con

ceptions have been put into practical operation. Church supremacy over all the world has been the cherished but vain dream of the Roman hierarchy; prior to the Reformation this idea was to a large extent actualized. Nearly all Europe was then under the control of the church, at the head of which stood the Pope. He was the king of kings, and the ruler of rulers. But that order has completely broken down. The Pope to-day is shorn of his temporal power. The ideal of Church supremacy "now stands in history as a ghastly specter from the past."

When the Reformation set in and as it progressed the order was reversed. The state became supreme; the civil government exercised its authority in ecclesiastical and religious matters. This is largely the state of things yet in the countries of the old world. Church supremacy leads to hierarchism; state supremacy leads to Cæsarism or Erastianism. The one produces priestcraft, the other kingcraft. The final results of both are evil.

#### SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

In the United States we find a new principle in operation. Here a complete separation of church and state is demanded. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The condition of things in the colonies necessitated the adoption of this principle. This idea was not brought here from abroad. It was an American growth. The Puritans, though they had fled from oppression and religious persecution, set up an order of things in which church and state were united. The civil power exercised its authority in religious matters. In the colony of Massachusetts the Congregationalists were predominant; in Rhode Island the Baptists; in Maryland the Catholics; in Virginia the Episcopal; in Pennsylvania the Quakers; and scattered throughout all the colonies were members of the Reformed, Lutheran and other churches. Consequently when the colonies came to organize themselves into a national government they found it necessary to leave religion and the church entirely out of consideration. The operations of the state formed by them had to be limited to po-

litical and secular affairs. The idea adopted by the fathers was that the church should represent the religion of the nation, and the government should have charge exclusively of the secular interests of the people. And this idea has become so thoroughly rooted and grounded in the convictions of the citizens that an interference of the one institution with the other would not for a single moment be tolerated. The view clearly and tenaciously held is that each shall confine itself to its own sphere and accomplish its own mission in human society.

#### PROVINCE OF THE CHURCH.

It is the province of the church to represent the religion of the state; to profess faith in Almighty God, the Creator and Father of all men and the everlasting Ruler of the world, and in Jesus Christ the Saviour of men, and in the Holy Ghost, the comforter and sanctifier of them that believe; to maintain and defend the faith though not with carnal weapons; to preach the gospel to the people; to call upon all men, high and low, rich and poor, rulers and ruled, to repent of their sins, believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and fear to offend against the Lord God, warning the nation and individual citizens against the terrible results that will inevitably follow from a defiance of the Lord, unbelief, wickedness and sin; to gather into her fold men, women and children and to influence them to a life of righteousness and holiness before God and man. In the church and through the church the state is to give expression to its faith, hope and trust in the Lord God.

#### PROVINCE OF THE STATE.

The state through its government has nothing whatever to do with the religion of the people. Its province is to guarantee unto the citizens the enjoyment of their inalienable rights; to maintain justice, equity and righteousness among the people, and to carry on such domestic and foreign affairs as will be for the benefit, welfare and safety of all the people.

The National Constitution is to set forth the rights of the people to be maintained, the fundamental laws by which they are to

be governed, and to describe the form of government to be operated amongst them and over them. It is not its province to profess faith in God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. That duty belongs to the church. Our government has to deal exclusively with secular matters; it has no voice in the spiritual and eternal interests of the people. Civil contracts between individuals, municipal corporations and national government all belong to the same category. They are all concerned with temporalities. They belong to the worldly sphere of our life. There is no call for the insertion of the name of God in a civil contract, or in the charter of a city, or in the National Constitution, and nothing would be accomplished thereby. If the parties to the contract are religious, God-fearing men they will be faithful to the conditions at any rate, and if they are irreligious and godless the name of God in the agreement will not constrain them in the least. In fact, such a use of the name of God would be a profanation of it. The same must be said in a general way in regard to the insertion of God's name in the National Constitution. It is not necessary as a confession of the religious faith of the nation, as that confession is made by the church. It would add nothing to the faithfulness and integrity of the conscientious ruler or lawmaker, and it would carry no force with it for the unbelieving and immoral officer, though he be required to subscribe to the constitution and make oath to obey and defend the same. By committing the nation to faith in God through a preamble to the Constitution and requiring the thousands of officials in the national government, from the highest to the lowest, to subscribe to the same, regardless of their moral and religious character, would be forcing a religious faith upon the believer, the infidel and immoral man alike. Instead of honoring God by such an act, it would be conniving at blasphemy by putting the Lord's name in the mouth of the wicked. Moreover, the enforcement by the state of a confession of faith in God upon any one against the free choice of his own heart and will is altogether repugnant to the spirit of our people and the fundamental principle of our government. It may be said that no one is compelled to be a

citizen of our country or to hold office under its government. If any one cannot accept the declaration of faith in God he can simply stand aside. But that would be virtually setting up a religious test, something which the people of the United States would not tolerate for a single moment. A forced religion is a Mohammedan idea, a Russian idea, a Romish idea, a state-church idea, but it is not the idea of the United States of America, and we do not believe it to be a Gospel idea.

### THE CHRISTIAN STATE.

Embodying the name of God in our Constitution would not make us a Christian nation any more than we already are. What constitutes a Christian nation? When the religion of the people is Christian the nation is Christian. When the people in general maintain the Christian faith, worship and morality; when the rulers and lawmakers are governed by the principles of the Christian religion and morality; when the institutions of the country are of a Christian character; when the laws of the land, fundamental and statutory, are inspired by and embody the righteousness, equity and love of the gospel of Jesus Christ, then it can with propriety and truth be said that the nation is Christian.\* But no constitutional declaration of the nation's faith and trust in the Lord would bring about such results. The name of God printed in the fundamental law would not possess any such magical power as to produce the much desired condition.

\* Dr. H. Martensen in his Christian ethics assumes that no state can exist without moral ideas and that these rest on religious ideas; and on page 101, second division, he says: "We define the Christian state as that whose fundamental moral ideas are determined by Christianity, as that which finds its most determined, and therefore its supra-political, impulses and ideas in the Christian view of life and the world." With this we heartily agree. And judging the United States by this standard, we must say that they constitute a Christian state. For the ideas of right, justice, equality of all men before the law and before God, liberty, obedience to law, the family, purity and others of like character which underlie the state are unquestionably derived from Christianity. But we cannot agree with the views of this author in re the correct form of the state and its relation to the church.

Christianity must Christianize the nation. The responsibility and power lie with the church and Christian people. The church by the power of the Gospel placed in her hands and by the power of Christianity embodied and exemplified in the lives and works of her members must convert the citizens unto the Lord and bring them under the moulding, guiding and governing power of divine truth. If the church fails to quicken the conscience of the rulers, lawmakers and people then everything will fail. The Gospel preached and lived alone possesses the power to bring men, whether as officials or as citizens, to a consciousness of their obligations to Almighty God, and influence them to recognize the same. Christian faith and morality cannot be legislated into people, neither by the Constitution nor by laws enacted. All such efforts will prove worse than futile in the end.

#### THE MINISTER'S WARRANT.

But if the Constitution does not recognize God as the Supreme Ruler of nations and men, how can ministers of the Gospel call upon the government to obey and enforce the laws of God? How can they ask the legislators and the executive and the judicial officers to enforce the integrity and righteousness taught in the word of God? The answer is, the minister of the Gospel does not and would in no case receive the warrant for his message from the constitution and laws of the state. His authority to speak comes from no human deliverance and enactment. He receives his warrant from the church, from the Gospel, from the Lord Jesus Christ. By this warrant he has authority to speak to the people, the nation and to the world. He has the right in the name of the Lord to demand of rulers that they acknowledge, fear and obey the Lord God; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will encourage, maintain and defend Christian morality. The church has the right, and it is her duty in virtue of what she is and represents, to speak to the state in regard to all matters affecting the law of God. Just here, however, especially in our country, comes to view the weakness of the church, not because of anything lacking in the form of the state, but

because of her own divided condition. As at present constituted, the church cannot speak to the state with one mind and mouth. The multiplication of sects is the bane of American Christianity. It might have been in a practical way good for the church and state, and redounded to the welfare of society, if the national government had years ago already forbidden the formation of additional denominations of religion. But such interference would be a violation of the principle adopted in this country. The sect system is the false exercise of the doctrine of religious freedom. But we had better endure this evil than run the risk of the greater evils that would in all probability follow upon the interference of the state with the religious affairs of the people.

Our conclusion, then, is that the insertion of the name of God in the Constitution would not be in harmony with, but in contradiction of, the principle of entire separation of church and state as adopted and held by the people of the United States ; further, that such fact would carry with itself no sanctifying power, nor add anything to the authority of the church to proclaim and insist upon the morality and righteousness of the Gospel, nor would it redound in any special way to the glory of God or the enhancement of His Kingdom.

#### • DIFFERENT VIEWS OF THE STATE.

We are aware that many writers on ethics have regarded the state in a different light from that in which we have viewed it in this paper. But such writers generally have in mind a different form of civil government and a different relation of church to state from those obtaining with us. We must view the question from the standpoint of a republican form of government and an entire separation of church and state. If this is a proper and good form of government for us, and a legitimate and correct adjustment of the two institutions to one another, then they must also be justified in the sphere of ethics. The writers of the old world, as far as we have been able to ascertain, hold to the opinion that the correct conception of the state necessitates some form



monarchial government, inclining to a preference for a hereditary rather than an elective monarchy. The Pope of Rome is willing to express an admiration for our government, but does not hesitate to say that he still does not regard it as an ideal form. We believe that in the Providence of God we have been led to adopt a better form of government than any nation has ever had and to adjust church and state more satisfactorily than was ever done before. This relation has been defined as a "reciprocal independence." The separation is not an absolute one. State and church owe duties to each other, positive as well as negative. These we will not attempt to outline here. The order established in our country is yet an experiment. But the experiment has stood the test of a hundred years, and the indications now are that the order will be a permanent one. And this order prevents the state from having anything officially to do with faith and religion.

#### ORDAINED OF GOD.

The view we have presented does not deny that "the powers that be are ordained of God." The rulers of our government, though limited in their activity and operations to secular matters, are surely as much the instruments of God as was the Emperor of heathen Rome in the days of St. Paul. They are ordained, not, however, in any sense to take the place of the church, but to maintain peace, preserve order, encourage those that do well and to punish evil doers. There is an important sense in which they hold office and wield power "by the grace of God."

The ideas of right, virtue, love, mercy and charity have their origin in God, have been revealed by the Lord Jesus Christ, and are proclaimed by the church. These ideas the Christian state is to maintain and enforce in the operation of its government. The electors of the country ought to realize that the ultimate source of power is in the Lord God and cast their votes for men who realize their obligation to God, and the church ought to bring the electors to a sense of their duty in this regard. And those in official stations in the nation ought not forget Him whence all power proceeds. And it would unquestionably be a

great gain to the religion and morals of the country if the men at the head of the government and those in the legislative halls were religious and God-fearing men who faithfully worshipped the Lord in His sanctuary and discharged their official duties with a conscience void of offense towards God and men always."

The state must depend on the church to produce men of such character and to quicken the conscience of the voters that they will call these men then to places of authority in the state. For, as Dr. N. C. Schaeffer clearly set forth on January 26th in a sermon at Lancaster, Pa., the most important thing in all government is that the righteous should be in authority. The history of the world furnishes numerous examples under different forms of government and under different constitutional formulas establishing the truth of the proverb, "when the righteous are authority the people rejoice, but when the wicked beareth rule the people mourn."

## VII.

### PREACHING CHRIST—THE THEME AND THE TIMES.

BY REV. M. L. YOUNG, PH. D.

The Apostle Paul, in contrasting his ministry with that of Judaizing teachers, declares the theme of his preaching to be the glory of the exalted Christ. Not himself, his learning, his reputation, his profound insight acquired by marvellously acute penetration into the philosophy of his own age and ages preceding; no graces of person, no powers of mind, no force of character, possessed by himself, does he preach. The gospel he proclaimed is not his, but Christ's. He would have no one say, "I am of Paul." The only name he preached was the "name which is above every name," the name Jesus, before whom every knee shall bow and whom every tongue shall confess as Lord. What a remarkable absence of desire for self-assertion in all Paul's preaching! The content and aim of the message he delivered were: "Christ Jesus the Lord."

A question, timely in every period of the church's history, comes to the ministry of to-day—the question, "What shall we preach?" The ready answer to this question is "the gospel of which Christ is the content." Paul says, "We preach Christ Jesus." He is to be preached as the exalted One, the bearer of the Divine glory or, as one has well said, "as the Head of the church, as the Possessor and Bestower of the whole Divine fulness of grace, as the Judge of the world, as the Conqueror of all hostile powers, as the Intercessor for His own, in short, as the Wearer of the whole majesty which belongs to His Kingly office."

But it is asked: "Did not Paul preach a crucified Christ?" "Did he not glory in the cross of Christ?" He did, but the preaching of the crucifixion and the resurrection is the preaching of one gospel—a gospel of sweetest harmony. The glory of the exalted Christ is a consequence of the death of the cross. It is the Christ that died who has risen and "is at the right hand of

God, who also maketh intercession for us.” The completion of his redemptive work was conditioned by His sufferings and death, and the whole gospel is contained in the words He spoke to the two perturbed disciples on their way to Emmaus: “Ought not Christ to have suffered these things and to enter into His glory?”

The apostles preached Christ—Christ crucified, Christ risen; and modern preachers must proclaim the same gospel. The preacher who substitutes anything else for Christ is not worthy of his high calling. The preacher dares not accommodate himself to the doctrine demanded by worldly wisdom, scientific theories or theological speculation. He must not keep back any of the distinctive features of the gospel, nor allow any tampering with the conditions it imposes. To the Jews the gospel preached by the apostles was an offence, and to the Greeks it was foolishness. These two classes repudiated it because it did not conform to their preconceived notions as to what salvation should be. The Jews looked for a deliverer who would rule over them as a temporal king and put under foot the enemies of their nation. When Christ came, declaring that His kingdom was not of this world, the Jews said He is not the Messiah, and they rejected Him. The Greeks desired a religion which would conform to the teachings of their philosophy and of human reason, and, from their point of view, the way of salvation proclaimed by the apostles was marked by many absurdities, and thus to the Greek the gospel became a subject of ridicule. But the first evangelists did not seek to fashion the gospel by the mold of Jewish prejudice or Grecian pride. They preached it as it had been received whether men would hear or forbear.

Christ must ever be proclaimed as the true panacea. He can cure the morally diseased. In Him is found the only remedy for sin and death, and with implicit confidence we may point to Him as “the way, the truth and the life,” as the One in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, as possessing all that the world needs for its well-being. To preach Him, therefore, is the great mission of the preacher for all time.

Notwithstanding the clear call of the preacher to bear to men

a message universal and perpetual, we must not disregard the duty of preaching Christ in His special adaptation to human needs. Timeliness is an important element in true preaching.

Although in every community and age sin is essentially the same as to its nature and consequences, yet it changes in form, and the Christ, eternally the same, must be held forth in such manner as to meet the different phases which sin assumes under changed moral conditions. The sins of the Pharisee were not the same in form as those of the publican, and the truth as it is in Christ was not applied to these two classes alike; nor do we in our day bring the truth to bear in the same form against all prevailing sins. Christ is the light of the world—the light to dispel all darkness, but as from the facets of a diamond the light flashes in different directions, so gospel truth is many-sided, sending out its light everywhere, and upon every form of moral darkness.

There must be special adaptation of the truth in seeking the cure of such unlike and multiform sins as *mammonism*, which closes the heart to the cry of the needy and builds fortunes upon the unrequited toil of the poor; *political corruption*, with the attendant evils of oppression, injustice and fraud; *intemperance* with its untold miseries, both physical and moral; and *selfishness*, the leader of the long train of individual, social and national sins. For these and all other evils there is a remedy, but it must be specifically applied. The right adaptation of the truth to sin under varying circumstances is the important and difficult study of the preacher.

The social and moral condition of man changes, and the true preacher of every age asks seriously, prayerfully and anxiously, "What is the message my Lord would have me bear to the people of my day?" Very forcibly has the scholarly editor of this REVIEW said: "What has Christ now to say to the questions, doctrinal and practical, which agitate this age? That is, what the ministry adapted to the times, is bound to discover and proclaim. What, for example, has Christ to say to the liquor question? The answer to this is not to be obtained directly from

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what He said and did nineteen centuries ago. The fact that Christ produced wine by a miracle at the wedding of Cana is no proof that He would now sanction the sale and use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. . . . Again, what has Christ to say on the labor question? What has he to say to the millionaire, and what to the man without capital? What has he to say to the man in the mill, and what to the man in the office? To all these parties Christ has something to say, and it is the business of the ministry to say it for Him."

Our preaching must be adapted to the wants of the congregations we serve and the community in which we live. The word must be rightly divided with a view to prevailing sins, errors and needs. The doctrine, the reproof, the correction, the instruction in righteousness, suited to one congregation may not be suited, in the same form, to another.

A timely preaching of Christ lays right stress on the interests of the present life. The kingdom of God is to be established here and now. "The kingdom of God is within you," is the declaration of Christ, and the King himself teaches us that He sets up his throne in the hearts of men. His authority is to be recognized in individual, social and national life. The principles of his kingdom are designed to permeate and sanctify every estate of mankind. Christ is in the world as its rightful Ruler and He has not surrendered his government to the evil one. The present life is not given over to the control of Satan. A book was published several years ago bearing the title, "Preaching to the Preachers." Its author is a layman, an eminent professor in one of our great universities, and the earnest words of this intelligent, observant and consecrated layman deserve serious consideration on the part of the clergy. He says, "Preachers set before their listeners the delights, the hope, the reward of a future life, but Christianity is primarily concerned with this life. It is to redeem the present world and establish here a kingdom of righteousness. . . . The world has transferred the domain of dogma and the future life to the church and has kept for itself the present life." He continues, "Notice how quickly Christ turns his di-

ples away from speculations about the future to present duties, when they approach him with inquiries about the hereafter." There is more than a grain of truth in this writer's declaration, "Because we have concerned ourselves too much with the hereafter, we have neglected an examination of present duties."

The preaching of the apostles was effective not only because they had the mind of Christ, but also because they thoroughly understood the age in which they lived. They had full knowledge of the vices and virtues of the people of that time. They were acquainted with habits of life and modes of thought. They understood the wants of men of that day and were diligent in the work of setting forth Christ in such manner as to meet these wants. To-day, as nineteen centuries ago, the preacher needs the mind of Christ, and this he gets by the Spirit's aid in the diligent study of the written word, and earnest, importunate prayer, but he needs also to know the minds of his fellowmen, and in order to obtain such knowledge he must study social and economic questions. He is the better fitted for the work of his high calling by the investigation of political, sociological and ethical problems of modern life.

Who is sufficient for the difficult and responsible service of bringing the mind and power of Christ to bear upon the multi-form disorders and needs of the age in which we live? The business of the preacher is to do more than tell what Christ said and did when He was on earth. If this were all the preacher had to do his work would be easy, but preaching Christ now implies the hearing and interpretation of the words and works of Christ in our day.

It is a part of our work to search for the principles which lie beneath the rules and precepts contained in the Scriptures and apply them to the needs of souls in this generation. "We must," as Dr. Wm. M. Taylor says, "learn what kind of a book the New Testament is; for it is not a list of distinct precepts, each of which is applicable to only one case, but it is a book of living principles of universal application. . . . . To read it as if it were a set of rubies, with minute directions for every detail of

conduct, will make us Pharisees; to read it as a book of great principles, that are to have free course through all our actions, will make us disciples of Him who went about doing good."

Besides searching for the principles of the Gospel with such persistent diligence that we may tell men with confidence what Christ would have them do amidst present-day surroundings, we are to present Him as the source of strength for the performance of that which they know to be their duty. Man to-day needs personal power to do the right and resist evil; power to serve, to suffer and to die; power such as Paul possessed when he said, "I can do all things." Such power man does not have in himself. Christ is the source of it. He imparts it to men. Paul could do all things because he had come into contact with Christ. Hear him, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me."

We read, in the Gospel, of publicans and sinners—the dishonest and vile. Doubtless they heard many admonitions to lead honest and pure lives, but not until their souls were brought into touch with the living Christ did they have the peace and power of a renewed nature. The diseased woman touched, with trembling hand, the hem of Christ's garment and she was healed immediately. She heard the Master's gracious words, "Daughter, be of good comfort; thy faith hath made thee whole; go in peace." Such power she never felt before, though she had spent all her living upon physicians. Zaccheus may have heard frequently of the great sin of dishonesty, but not until he sought to see Jesus and obeyed the call to come down from the tree to Him was his soul touched with moral power. When brought into personal contact with Christ he could say, "The half of my goods I give to the poor, and if I have taken anything from any man by false accusation I restore him fourfold."

The preacher must bring men to Christ. He is the great Physician. He can heal all diseases. "He healeth the broken in heart and bindeth up their wounds." But the only hope of cure is in being brought to the Physician. That was a strange scene in Capernaum. In a house of that city our Saviour is preaching



the word. The people fill the house so that there is no room even about the door. A helpless paralytic is without, borne by four men, but they cannot get near Jesus because of the crowd. Are they discouraged? See them ascending the outside stairs, digging through the roof and letting down, in the presence of Jesus, the bed whereon the sick of the palsy lay. Everything standing between the soul and Christ must be broken through. Our work is to bring souls to Christ. There are many difficulties in the way of being saved and of saving others, but when Jesus sees our faith He will say to the sin-sick soul we bring to Him, "Son, thy sins be forgiven thee."

Behold, another scene! Jesus has been preaching on the shores of the Galilean sea. Weary and worn, He goes to the desert to rest, but the crowd, thousands upon thousands, follow Him. The disciples said, "Send them away." Christ said, "Feed them." Andrew said, "There is a lad here who has five barley loaves and two small fishes, but what are they among so many?" And Jesus commanded the disciples to make all sit down, and, lifting His eyes to heaven, He blessed the food and gave to His disciples to set before the multitude. When all were filled He commanded the disciples to take up the fragments. Christ has food for the spiritually hungry, enough for all, but we are to help dispense this food to the world. He uses us if we stand ready to obey Him.

The preacher sits at the feet of the Divine Teacher to learn His will, and then goes forth to declare it to others. It is not enough to talk about our Lord; we must obey him.

Readiness to do the will of Him whose commission the preacher holds is an essential preparation for preaching Christ in our times. We do well to ponder these earnest words of a great preacher: "I tell you, my brethren, we need, first of all things, ourselves to admit Christ into our own minds and our hearts and our lives as absolute Lord. We can then oppose and overawe the confidence of philosophy and of science with a mightier confidence than theirs. And we need to go forth with the sense of heraldship in our hearts, and summon men, in the name of our King and theirs,

to instant and unconditional submission. This will give to our preaching a definite and an inspiring name. We shall constantly be animated with a conscious purpose. Whenever we stand before our fellow men we shall know why we are there. We shall be there to bring them into obedience, or into better obedience to Christ. . . . . If there be yet anywhere a falling away from Christ, it will not, I am sure, be among those preachers who accept it for the one aim of their preaching to get Christ obeyed. One anchor can hold us, whatever winds or tides or tempests beat. Simple, humble, steadfast, childlike obedience to Christ—that is a bond which never yet was broken. It is our safety and the safety of the world.”

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## VIII.

### NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

**NINE LECTURES ON PREACHING.** Delivered at Yale College, New Haven, Conn., by Rev. R. W. Dale, D. D., Birmingham, England. Publishers: A. S. Barnes & Co., New York, Chicago and New Orleans. Pages 302. Price \$1.25.

These lectures were delivered in 1877, on the foundation of the Lyman Beecher Lectureship of the Divinity School of Yale College. Though nineteen years have elapsed since their first publication, they have lost nothing of their original interest and of their applicability to the condition and wants of the modern preacher. The style in which they are composed is clear and vigorous, and the reader does not grow sleepy or tired in the perusal of them.

The subjects discussed in these lectures are the following: “Perils of Young Preachers,” “The Intellect in Relation to Preaching,” “Reading,” “The Preparation of Sermons,” “Extemporaneous Preaching and Style,” “Evangelistic Preaching,” “Pastoral Preaching,” “The Conduct of Public Worship.” These various topics are treated with much ability and force by the distinguished lecturer, who was himself an able and successful preacher, and who has now gone to his reward in the church triumphant. In his ecclesiastical relations and in theology the lecturer was a Congregationalist of the orthodox,

though liberal and progressive, type. As far as his theology comes to view in these lectures we may not always agree with him ; but that is no reason why we should not be able to learn many things from him on the subject of preaching.

We welcome books of this kind because we believe that ministers can not be too well informed in regard to the nature and duties of their office as preachers. We agree with what Dr. Dale himself says on page 93 of this volume. "Some men," he says, "speak contemptuously of lectures on preaching and treatises on the science or art of rhetoric. For myself, I have read scores of books of this kind, and I have never read one without finding in it some useful suggestion. I advise you to read every book on preaching that you can buy or borrow, whether it is old or new, Catholic or Protestant, English, French or German. Learn on what principles the great preachers of other churches as well as of your own, of other countries as well as of your own, of ancient as well as of modern times, have done their work."

Preaching is not an easy art ; and yet its results depend largely upon the manner in which it is exercised. We do not forget that the effect is conditioned also by the influence of the Holy Spirit, and by the faith or unbelief of those who hear. But we believe that the influence of the Holy Spirit will also be present when there is true and earnest preaching of the Gospel ; and that in such circumstances the faith and interest of those who hear may always be counted on. In this connection we quote what Dr. Dale says, page 34, on *interest* in preaching. "I doubt," he says, "whether preachers have any right to complain if people who used to come to church regularly get into the habit of staying away. If we were *interesting* they would find it pleasanter to listen to our sermons than to spend the morning at home, writing letters or reading the newspapers. I am sure that we have no right to complain if, while we are preaching, people go to sleep. It is our duty to keep them awake. Nor have we any right to complain that while they seem to be listening to us, they are thinking of their farm or their store, or the new flower they have got for their greenhouse, or the new horse they have bought for their carriage."

We are sure that the perusal of these lectures by young preachers will be found helpful in the discharge of the most difficult functions of their office. W. R.

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY. By the Rev. Andrew Harper, B. D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, Ormond College within the University, Melbourne, New York : A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1895. Price \$1.50.

This volume, which belongs to the series entitled the "Expositor's Bible," is a work of superior merit. The many interest-

ing topics pertaining to Deuteronomy are discussed with marked learning and ability, and in such a way as to make them both very interesting and very instructive. As regards the authorship of this book of Scripture, Dr. Harper believes it to have been written, not by Moses, but by some one who lived centuries after Moses. "Probably," he says, "we may date it between Hezekiah and Josiah." He does not, however, on this account, deny to it the character of true history. "The result of all the indications," he says, "is that the story of Moses, as the author of Deuteronomy knew it, rests upon authentic information handed down somehow, probably in written documents, from the earliest time. Apart from the question of inspiration, therefore, we may rest upon it as reliable in all essentials. Only in him and the revelation he received have we an adequate cause for the great upheaval of religious feeling which shaped and characterized all in the after-history of Israel." Other subjects specially treated in the volume are The Divine Government, The Form and Substance of the Decalogue, The Mediatorship of Moses, Love to God the Law of Life, Mosaic View of Education, The Ban in Deuteronomy VII. and in Modern Life, Israel's Election and Motives for Faithfulness, Law and Religion, Laws of Sacrifice, The Relation of Old Testament Sacrifice to Christianity, The Economic Aspects of Israelite Life, Justice in Israel, Laws of Purity, and Laws of Kindness. The discussion of all these subjects is throughout reverential and scholarly. It is also unusually suggestive. As a whole the volume is a truly valuable one, and equal in merit to any in the series to which it belongs.

**THE SHORTER BIBLE CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED :** Being the Holy Bible Abridged and with its Writings Synchronized for Popular Reading. Lucy Rider Meyer, Editor, Author of "Deacones," "Fair Land of Chemistry," "The Jewish Offerings," "Children's Meetings," etc. With an Introduction by Bishop John H. Vincent. New York: Hunt & Eaton, Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis, Price \$2.50.

The character of this work is very well set forth in the contents of the title page. It is an attempt to reduce Bible history to a single narrative, arranged as far as possible in chronological order, and so as to bring the various Scriptures into their proper relation the one to the other. The work is based on other harmonistic attempts, and the text followed is that of the Revised Version. The object of the work is "not to divert from, but to attract toward, the whole Bible." This it seeks to do by breaking through the "crust of staleness that has gathered over the Bible from countless repetitions" and "by presenting the book to the eye as books of to-day are presented, and divesting it of repetitions and of those parts which, by reason of the great change of circumstances and the vast lapse of time since its

composition, need the assistance of a commentary to be understood." There is an abridgment of nearly two-thirds. The condensation generally is of a judicious character. The work, if properly used, can scarcely fail to be serviceable.

**PROGRESS IN SPIRITUAL KNOWLEDGE.** By the Rev. Chauncey Giles, Author of "The Nature of Spirit," "The Incarnation and Atonement," "Heavenly Blessedness," etc. A Memorial Volume. Philadelphia, American New Church Tract and Publication Society, 2129 Chestnut Street, 1895. Price \$1.50.

This volume consists of a biographical sketch of Rev. Giles together with twenty-one of his sermons. It is published, as indicated on the title page, as a memorial volume. The title of the book is furnished by the subject of the first sermon contained in it. Rev. Giles was a prominent minister of the New Jerusalem Church and a man of most excellent spirit. The biographical sketch of him is reprinted with slight change from the *New Church Review*, of January, 1894, and is full and interesting. The sermons are all admirable in style and method. They present, in a very clear and striking manner, the principal doctrines of the church to which the author belonged. Those who desire to acquaint themselves with these doctrines will find this volume admirably suited to their purpose. On their own account, however, the sermons, will repay perusal because of their excellence. It would be well if all sermons were as clear and forcible in the presentation of truth.

# THE REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW

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## I.

### THEORY OF CULTUS.

BY REV. WM. RUPP, D.D.

THE word *cultus* is used, in theology, in a two-fold sense: first, in the general sense of divine worship, and, secondly, in the sense of theory or doctrine of worship. It is in the latter sense mainly that we propose to treat the subject in this paper.

*Cultus* comes from *colo*, *colere*, and was originally a term pertaining to agriculture. *Colere* means, literally, to work upon the earth, in a field or garden—to *tend, till, take care of the ground*; then also *to dwell in a place; to inhabit*—since the idea of *cultivating* implies that of *abiding* in a place. Tropically *colere* means to *bestow care* upon something, and is used, first, with a neuter object in the sense of *cherishing, fostering a thing*; secondly, with a personal object, in the sense of *regarding with care, treating with respect, reverencing, worshipping*. From this usage comes the application of the word to the reverence and worship of the Deity, and to the respect paid to objects connected with this worship.

Cultus in the religious sense, then, signifies the system of divine worship, embracing the various acts, both mental and

material, by which the Deity is supposed to be honored and pleased. The word is often used in this sense in classical Latin, as well as in Modern German, and also, though less frequently, in English. “*Philosophia nos primum ad Cultum deorum erudivit*,” says Cicero. And the worship of the gods, in the old Latin or Roman sense, as indeed among all primitive peoples, consisted mainly in the performance of sacred rites and ceremonies, such as the repetition of hymns and prayers, the offering of sacrifices, the decorations of temples, altars and images.

Cultus, accordingly, in its primitive sacred signification, is equivalent to *religio*, *religion*, in the original Latin sense of the term. *Religio* is by Cicero derived from *relegere*, to go through again, or repeat something, in reading, speech, thought, or act; and accordingly denotes a repeated performance of acts of reverence and worship. The sentence of Cicero containing this etymology is well known, and reads as follows: “*Qui omnia, quæ ad cultum deorum pertinerent, diligentes retractarant et tamquam relegerent, sunt dicti religiosi ex relegendo, ut elegantes ex elegendo, tamquam a diligendo diligentes, ex intelligendo intelligentes.*” This derivation of the word is now generally accepted, and is unquestionably more in harmony with the primitive religious ideas of the people among whom that word originated than is, for example, the derivation from *religare*, proposed by Lactantius. The idea of a rebinding or reunion of man with God, made necessary by the fact of sin, is a dogmatic Christian idea which could hardly have had anything to do with the formation of the conception of religion among the primitive Romans.

The Greek term most nearly corresponding to the Latin *cultus* and *religio*, is *θρησκεία*, which is of uncertain etymology, but denotes the careful performance of acts or ceremonies in honor of the Deity. This word occurs in James 1 : 26–27, and is in Latin translated *religio*, in English *religion*: “If any man seemeth to be *religious*, while he bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his heart, this man’s *religion* is vain. Pure *religion* before our God and Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction and to keep himself unspotted from the world.” The



German rendering here is *Gottesdienst*, *divine service*. But the Greek word for divine service most frequently used in the New Testament is *λατρεία*, from *λατρεῖν*, to serve, especially to serve for hire. The verb is used a number of times in the New Testament, and is translated by the phrase *to worship*, and sometimes by the phrase *to serve*. The noun is used in Rom. 9:4 (the service of God and the promises), Rom. 12:1 (reasonable service), and Heb. 9:6 (accomplishing the service of God). In these passages we have *Gottesdienst* in German; in the Latin Vulgate we twice have *obsequium*, once *cultura*, and once *officium*; and *cultus* uniformly in the version of Arias Montanus. Another common term denoting the action of divine worship or divine service, in the New Testament, is *leitourgía*, from *leitourgeîn* (compounded of *λέϊτος* or *λεῖτος* from *λαός* people, and *ἔργον*, work), denoting the performance of a public work, especially the performance of an office of religion in behalf of the people. From this we get the English word *liturgy*, signifying primarily the service of the Eucharist, but more broadly the fixed parts of Christian worship in general, or those parts which the minister performs, not in the stead of, but in union with the people.

Cultus, then, or as the word is more commonly used in English, *cult*, signifies, in religious phraseology, the ordinances and ceremonies of divine service or worship. Its nature and character in any particular time or place are determined by the prevailing conception of the Deity to whom worship is rendered. Thus we get different cults among different nations, and in the same nation often different cults for different gods. The different gods are not honored by the same ceremonies even in the same country or the same city. The cults of the Romans were different in general from those of the Greeks or Carthaginians; and at Rome the cult of Jupiter differed materially from that of Juno.

Now Christian cultus, in the common or popular sense of the term, is the Christian worship of God, or the worship of God as determined and ruled by the Christian revelation. It embraces all objects, and acts and circumstances which are connected with, or enter into, the Christian worship of God. Cultus as a theolog-



ical discipline, on the other hand, is the theory of Christian worship. The object of this theological discipline is to investigate the nature and principles of Christian worship and to develop the rules for its proper conduct.

This implies that the details of Christian worship do not rest upon any statutory provisions or laws of the Founder of Christianity. In this respect Christianity differs from the worship of Judaism, which immediately preceded it. However it may have been in the earlier periods of the history of Israel, when religion was passing through a process of development, the later worship of Judaism at least was strictly regulated by the legislative code which was believed to have been communicated to Moses from heaven at Mount Sinai. But there is no such code for the regulation of Christian worship contained in the New Testament. The New Testament, for example, gives no directions concerning the location and arrangement of churches, the size and material of altars, the number of sacred days and the manner of observing them, the garments to be worn by the officiating ministers, or the number and length of prayers, and the manner of uttering them. This absence of directions in regard to matters concerning which so much care is taken in the sacred books of other religions, is not because these matters are absolutely without importance or interest, but because they regulate themselves in accordance with the law of life immanent in the Christian religion.

Christian worship is a vital product of the religious instinct of the Church, not the result of a system of rules laid down in the Christian Scriptures. The instinct of worship is universal in human nature. Christianity does not create this instinct. It merely purifies, quickens and directs it, according to the law of the Spirit of Christ. There is a law of divine worship immanent in the spirit and life of Christianity; but this law is a living ideal, not a formal commandment. The only commandment concerning matters of cultus contained in the New Testament is the commandment concerning the observance of the two sacraments; and even this relates only to the bare fact, and not at all to the manner of their administration; so that it is possible, for in-

stance, for controversies to exist concerning the mode of baptism. The Christian ideal of worship possesses, indeed, a spontaneous energy, pressing for its own realization ; but, like all moral ideals, it can realize itself only through human intelligence and volition. A Christian will worship God in a Christian way only in so far as he has apprehended the Christian ideal and resolved to realize it in his own devotions. Hence we perceive the propriety and necessity of the study of the theory of cultus on the part of the Church, and especially on the part of her ministers. The object of this study is to gain a clear conception of the principles of Christian worship, with a view to their application in the conduct of worship. Such study is particularly important in a reflective and critical age like the present. In other, less reflective and more spontaneous and creative periods of history the spirit of worship might, in consequence of its own internal energy, find expression for itself in appropriate forms without any theory or rule. In fact, practice always goes before theory. Poetry was written before there was any science or theory of poetry ; but in time there arose the necessity of a theory ; and now the practice of the art of poetry must conform with the principles of the theory. So it is also with worship. The Christian Church, in the early vigor of her fresh life, worshipped God and projected systems of worship without the aid of any self-conscious theory ; but in subsequent times, when differences of practice awakened reflection, and when questions and controversies arose concerning matters of worship, study and theory became a necessity ; and that necessity certainly has not yet passed away.

Let us now glance for a moment at the history of cultus as a science. Probably the earliest description of Christian worship, outside of the New Testament, that has come down to us is contained in a letter of Pliny the younger to the Emperor Trajan, written about A. D. 111. According to the representation of this letter, which embodied the results of legal investigations, the Christians assembled at sunrise, on an appointed day, and sang responsively a hymn to Christ as God, and then pledged themselves not to commit any sort of wickedness. Afterwards,

at evening, they assembled again to eat common and innocent food. The last statement probably refers to the celebration of the Lord's Supper along with the accompanying love feast. The "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," dating from about A. D. 120, contains directions for the celebration of the Eucharist, in which the prayers are prescribed which are to be used in connection with this celebration. But the first descriptive account of Christian worship, for the benefit of persons not members of the Church, is contained in chapter 67 of Justin Martyr's first Apology, written about A. D. 150, and addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius. Justin describes the worship of the Christians on the Lord's Day as consisting in the reading of Scripture, a free address, hortatory and doctrinal, by the president of the meeting, the presentation of bread and wine, prayers and thanksgivings offered by the president "according to his ability," to which the people responded with an *Amen*, the distribution of the elements of the sacrament among those present, and the contribution of alms.

Of merely descriptive accounts of Christian cultus, furnished in the interest of ministers of religion, we have an example in the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions. Here the various parts of Christian worship are fully described for the instruction and direction of those who are to perform them, of course without any discussions of principles. The forms here described constitute what has usually been called the Clementine liturgy, which is believed to have been in use, substantially as here given, in portions of the Syrian Church, during the latter part of the Ante-Nicene age. Works of a similar character are abundant both in the Catholic and Protestant Churches. The Greek and Latin liturgies and the various Protestant *agenda* are examples.

Of a more scientific method of treating the subject of cultus but few traces appear before the time of the Reformation. Cyrill, of Jerusalem, furnished something in this way in a work called *Mystagogic Catechism*. So also did Dionysius, the Areopagite, in a work entitled *Hierarchia Cœlistis*, in which the acts of

Christian worship are represented ideally as reflections of the order and service of heaven. Works of a similar character appeared also in the Catholic Church during the Middle Ages. In Protestantism works of this class are rare, because there is little in Protestant worship that needs symbolical explanation.

Beginnings of a really scientific treatment of the subject of cultus we meet first in the age of the Reformation, when it became necessary to give a reason for the modifications which were undertaken in the sphere of worship. The Reformers assumed an attitude of entire freedom in relation to the worship as well as in relation to the theology of the Catholic Church. They abolished some things in the old order of worship; they changed some things, and they introduced some new things. For this procedure it was incumbent upon them to discover the necessary reasons, or principles, by which it could be justified to the Christian consciousness. Efforts in this direction were made by Luther in a tract concerning the *Order of Divine service*, 1523, in the *German Mass*, 1526, and in various letters; also by Zwingli in his *Epichiresis de Canone Missæ*, and in several other writings. Material relating to the theory of worship is found also in the confessional writings of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, especially in the articles relating to ceremonies, preaching and the mass. The questions in controversy between the Reformers and their opponents involved so many matters connected with cultus that the writings of the Reformers must necessarily contain much material bearing upon the theory of cultus.

But it was natural that in the time of the Reformation consideration should be given mainly to immediately practical needs. Reflection concerning liturgical matters did not rise to the level of strictly scientific and systematic thinking. Sound Christian feeling, attaching itself to what was believed to be the teaching of Scripture in regard to these matters, led directly to practical conclusions, while the profounder theological thought in the Protestant Churches was concerned mainly with dogmatic and philosophical questions. At a later period Pietism, which checked

the interest in dogmatic and speculative theology, and gave an impulse to the practical disciplines, failed to pay much attention to liturgical questions, because of its generally subjective and un-Churchly character. In the Churches of Puritan origin, and in those controlled by the spirit of Methodism, scarcely any attention is paid to the science of cultus, for the reason that in these Churches there are but few fixed forms of worship. The prayers here are all extemporaneous effusions, and are inspired merely by the varying moods of the minister or by accidental circumstances. The reading of Scripture lessons, the selection of hymns and music, the matter and form of prayers, as well as the selection of texts and themes for sermons—all this is left to caprice or accident. As the sermon is the principal thing in the actual conduct of worship, all scientific interest is concentrated in homiletics; and this, as generally treated, is merely a collection of rules for the construction of sermons, governed, not by any principles of cultus, but merely by the common principles of rhetoric.

In the German Churches of Continental Europe more attention was paid to the theory of cultus during the period of German rationalism. It was felt that the old forms of worship, the old formularies of prayer, of confession, of praise, and so forth, were not in harmony with the spirit of illuminism which found expression in the sermons and doctrinal treatises of the period. This circumstance necessarily led to reflection on the theory of cultus; and works began to be written on the subject, and lectures delivered in the universities. But it was especially Schleiermacher, the restorer of faith, and the father of the new German theology, who awakened interest in the science of cultus. Schleiermacher vindicated a more honorable position for practical theology in general than that which it had hitherto occupied in the circle of theological disciplines. It was he who raised practical theology to the dignity of a science, which he called the crown of all theological studies. Concerning Christian worship, especially Schleiermacher gave expression to a number of fruitful ideas, which have since been taken up and developed by a

larger number of able writers on the subject. Among these may be mentioned the names of Nitsch, Palmer, Hagenbach, Schweitzer and Ebrard, the last three belonging specifically to the Reformed Church.\*

After this brief historical review we proceed now to the study of the theory of cultus itself. The main question with which we have to do here is: What is the true conception of Christian worship? And the meaning of this question is not, what is the nature and effect of prayer in general. Does God hear and answer prayer? That is a dogmatic question, the answer to which must be assumed in a discussion of the theory of cultus. All prayer is intercourse or communion of the soul with God, in which God Himself must be supposed to have an active part. But cultus is more than prayer. And dogmatic discussion of the nature and efficacy of prayer would not be a theory of Christian cultus as an organic function of the Church. The question here is: What is the nature and purpose of Christian worship as exercised by the Church in its collective and organic capacity? And to this question the study of cultus has developed different answers, which have taken the form of more or less consistent theories.

We have, first, the so-called *sacrificial* theory, that is, the theory that Christian worship is an offering or service rendered to God in the literal sense of the term, for which God is bound to pay something in return. This theory is favored by the term *divine service*, by which worship is commonly designated. Service, unless it be that of a slave, presupposes wages; and even in the case of a slave the performance of service presupposes the duty of maintenance on the part of the master. The Greek word for *service*, *λατρεία*, comes from the root *λάτρω*, which means *pay, hire*. And a sacrifice, in the usual sense of the term is the surrender of something to God with the view of so pleasing Him

\* On the history of cultus see Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Books XIV. and XV.; and compare Herzog's *Real Encyclopedia*, first ed., Vol. V., Art. *Gottesdienst*; Ebrard's *Vorlesungen über Praktische Theology*, p. 238 sq.; Hoin's *Liturgics*, p. 137 sq.; and *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. XIV., Art. *Liturgy*.

as to get something from Him in return. In this sacrificial theory, then, worship is regarded as a good work, a performance that is well pleasing to God, because it contributes somehow to His glory or honor; and consequently as establishing a claim to reward. God is bound to reward that which is undertaken in the interest of His honor or for His satisfaction. Worship thus acquires something of a mercenary character. This conclusion may be softened somewhat by subtle distinctions and spiritualizing explanations, by which the theory may be to some extent vindicated against the obvious objections to which it is liable, but can not be made to commend itself to the most delicate Christian consciousness.

This is the theory which prevails in the Roman Catholic Church and dominates its cultus. The common practice of the Roman Catholic Church clearly involves the idea that worship is a work, a service, which God is in justice bound to reward. The supposed operation of the sacrifice of the mass as laying God under obligation to grant certain favors to the living and the dead, the indulgence promised as a reward for visiting certain churches or sacred places at certain seasons, or for saying a certain number of prayers—Ave Marias and Pater Nosters—or for contributing a certain amount of alms; these conceptions are all illustrations of this theory. This theory, moreover, is the view of worship that usually prevails in heathenism, if not as a self-conscious theory, at least as a spontaneous sentiment. The worship of the gods, by means of sacrifices, hymns, prayers and similar performances, among the Greeks and Romans, as we learn from classic literature, had its controlling motive in this conception. The *ὑπηρεσία τῶν θεῶν* of the Greeks and the *cultus deorum* of the Romans were usually undertaken for the purpose either of putting the gods under obligation, or of cajoling them into a willingness, to grant desired favors. The same conception also lay originally at the foundation of the cultus of the Hebrews, as we may still learn from the sacrificial terminology of the Old Testament. Jacob's vow at Bethel, for instance, as we have it reported by the Jehovist, has a decidedly mercenary tone. He



promises to serve Jehovah if Jehovah will do certain things for him.

The theory of cultus which we shall consider next may be called the *pedagogic* or *educational* theory. The leading idea of this theory is that worship is not a service rendered to God, but a service rendered to man. It is, therefore, the direct opposite of the preceding theory. The notion that to go to church, to listen to sermons, to join in the repetition of creeds and prayers and hymns, or to join in the celebration of sacraments, is a good work, laying God under obligation to the worshipper, is here declared to be superstition; as is also the notion that the performance of certain acts of cultus in and of itself produces certain moral and spiritual effects, in like manner as the operations of the agriculturist produces certain effects among the plants which he cultivates. Not God, but himself, does a man serve when he goes to church and allows himself to be instructed, and admonished, and made better; and this improvement is not the result of any divine agency in cultus, but merely of the reflex influences proceeding from prayers and hymns and other spiritual exercises. This educational theory lends itself readily to a naturalistic method of thought, and was the favorite theory in Germany during the reign of the vulgar rationalism. According to this view the various parts of cultus, prayer, confession, song, sermon, sacrament, have value only in so far as they can be made subservient to purposes of education or edification. Where this theory prevails, the sermon will be the prevailing element in cultus, and prayers and hymns will either have a dry and intellectual or else a merely sentimental tone.

It has been maintained, by Ebrard, for example, in an "Essay on Liturgics from the Standpoint of the Reformed Church," 1843, that this pedagogic theory is essentially the theory of the Reformed Church. According to Ebrard, in this essay, the object of cultus is nothing else than the continuous study of the Bible, the objective record of redemption, as the condition of the genesis and confirmation of Christian faith in the individual members of the Church; and this he claims to be the



formed view of cultus. It should be added, however, that in his lectures on practical theology, of the year 1854, Ebrard no longer adheres to this view. He still rejects the theory of a combination of sacrificial and sacramental elements in cultus, which was advocated by Kliefoth and others; and there are passages in this work which seem to be echoes of the author's earlier, educational theory, but the ruling principle of the work is much more profound and demands a more comprehensive theory. Others, like Schneckenburger, maintain that the proper theory of the Reformed Church is the sacrificial. Schneckenburger says that, according to the Reformed conception, "all divine worship is a common act of the congregation which therein offers and presents itself unto the Lord; and that the predominant element in this act of the congregation is *adoration*, which is regarded as a service due from man to God, and demanded by the first table of the Decalogue." \* On these representations we can only remark in passing that, while the legalistic tinge which belongs to the cultus of the Reformed Church in some countries, like Holland and Scotland, seems to speak in favor of Schneckenburger's view, and while certain rationalistic practices in Germany and elsewhere might be interpreted in favor of the view of Ebrard, yet neither of these views belongs exclusively to the Reformed Church, and she is not bound to maintain either of them. In our opinion it implies an exceedingly poor conception of the Reformed Church to suppose that she must stand or fall with any set of doctrines or practices that may have been maintained at any particular time or place in the past. The Reformed Church, as a *living* and not a *dead* Church, is capable of adjusting herself to new truths and new conditions presented by the thought and life of a new age; and they are but doubtful friends of the Reformed Church who suppose otherwise. The Reformed Church is not a petrified sect swearing to the theological crotchets of a dead past.

We have, thirdly, to consider what has been called the *sacramental* theory of cultus, which is represented by Palmer and others as the original theory of the Lutheran Church. This theory

\* See Herzog's Real Enc., first ed., Vol. V., p. 269.

ory emphasizes the fact that in cultus there is a divine factor or agency, exercised especially through the administration of the sacraments and the preaching of the word, and looking to the cultivation of the spiritual or Christian life in man. While the sacrificial theory represents cultus prevailingly as a human activity having God for its object, and while the pedagogic theory represents it mainly as a human activity having man himself for its object, the sacramental theory represents it as a divine activity terminating upon man. In the sacrificial theory the word cultus may be said to be used in the metaphorical classical sense, as applied to the worship or care of the gods; while in the sacramental theory it is used rather in its original or literal sense, as applied to the cultivation of plants. What the agriculturist does, by means of his labor and fertilizers, to the plants or grains under his care, that God does, by means of His word and sacraments administered through human agency, to men in His Church, cultivating and training them with a view to the realization of their ultimate destiny in His eternal kingdom; and, this, then is divine or Christian cultus.

This view may appeal, as a proof of its correctness to St. Paul's expression (I. Cor. 3: 9), "Ye are God's husbandry," *θεοῦ γεώργιον*, which the Vulgate translates *dei agricultura*. There is undoubtedly an objective divine element or agency in the Church, which acts upon men for spiritual purposes somewhat as the elements of nature—air, light, heat, moisture—act upon the growing grain. As a doctrine of cultus, however, the sacramental theory is one-sided and defective. It makes cultus merely a part of the order of salvation—a means of justification, of conversion and sanctification. That the word and sacraments enter into cultus as a means to the genesis and growth of the Christian life is, of course, true; but this does not exhaust their meaning in cultus; else the doctrine of cultus would be merely a section of dogmatics. And, besides, cultus embraces other elements in addition to the word and sacraments which receive no proper recognition in this theory.

The last partial theory of cultus which we shall mention may be called the *poetical* or *æsthetic*. It was the theory of Schleier

macher, and is advocated by Palmer and other German writers on practical theology. It regards Christian cultus or worship exclusively in the nature of a solemn celebration of God and divine things, which has its end in itself. Worship is thus allied to art. It is not only artistic in *form*; but it is also like art in having for its end the self-satisfaction or enjoyment of the worshipping subject, namely, the religious mind of the Church. As nature involves not only impulses to action, but also tendencies to enjoyment and rest; so the religious life tends to manifest itself not merely in ethical action and work, but also in æsthetic contemplation and celebration of its own contents, in which celebration there must be for the religious spirit the highest gratification and pleasure.

There is doubtless an important element of truth in this theory, as there is in each of the others which we have mentioned. Worship is the poetry, the art, the enjoyment of the religious life, as our ordinary ethical action is its prose, its work and toil. This accounts for the fact that we can not be satisfied long with anything short of an artistic form of worship. It would be a mistake, of course, to suppose that all the bliss of worship springs from the artistic form in which worship clothes itself; but that this is one source of that bliss must certainly be admitted. Hence worship and art can never be permanently divorced. Pictures, organs, music, may, in a fit of Puritanic fervor, be legislated out of the churches; but when the fit is past they will ever come back again. The religious mind, when in its normal condition, will ever demand that worship should take something of an artistic form. There must be a certain rhythm and harmony in its several parts. This is true of prayer and sermon as well as of hymn and music. A true sermon must be a piece of art, no less than the hymn or anthem; and so also must be the church in which the congregation assembles.

But that this is not a complete theory of Christian worship is evident from the fact that, in the New Testament, the acts of worship—that is, social or congregational worship—are brought into intimate relation to edification. In the 14th chapter of 1 Corin-

thians, St. Paul directs that every thing in social worship—praying, preaching, prophesying, speaking with tongues—should be done with a view to the edification of the Church. To the end of edification it was necessary that “all things should be done decently and in order.” The congregation is not merely, in its worship, to express its faith and piety, nor to present itself as a sacrifice to God, nor to please itself by means of its own exercises, but it is to edify itself; its members are to be made better and holier in consequence of its worship. This teleological side of cultus, however, fails to receive due recognition in this poetical theory.

An adequate conception of the nature of Christian cultus can only be derived from a correct idea of the Church; for cultus is the function of the Church. Into a full discussion of the nature of the Church, however, we can not here enter. We will have to content ourselves with the bare statement of a few fundamental principles. The Church is in the New Testament defined as the body of Christ, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. Of course, this language is metaphorical. It is, however, not difficult to discover the underlying reality. It means that the Church is the society of Christian believers united in one spiritual organism by the omnipresent life and spirit of Christ. The Church is an organism, that is, a whole whose parts are intrinsically related to it, developing from within by the force of an immanent principle, and having reference to an end within its own constitution. But the Church is an organism which has Christ in it as its governing, energizing, vitalizing spirit. Now as an organism, self-maintaining and self-developing, the activity of the Church must resolve itself into the polaric opposites of self-representation, or self-manifestation, and self-edification. And as an organism which has Christ in it, as its quickening and ruling spirit, the activity of the Church must be both divine and human. The action of any organism is of the two-fold nature just described. It is, first, representational, having for its end merely the manifestation of its nature and life. To what end does the plant grow and bloom? In the first place merely to set forth its

character in the world of phenomena. But, then, this self-activity of an organism has for its end also the preservation and development of itself. The organism grows by the exhibition of its own energy. This polaric distinction, then, must belong to all the functions of the Church; they must be both representational and teleological, or edificational. They must have their end, on the one hand, in the self-expression and self-manifestation of the spiritual life that is already in the Church, and, on the other hand, in the further promotion and development of that life, both extensively and intensively.\*

Christian cultus, then, is in the first place a representational activity, whose end is the expression of the faith and piety existing in the Church. In order that there may be divine cultus or worship there must be a Christian congregation possessing a certain amount of real Christian life. It is not the design of worship to create a congregation. A missionary in a heathen land would not now expect to convert the heathen by performing acts of Christian worship before their eyes. Roman Catholic missionaries during the Middle Ages may have entertained such notions, and proclaimed the conversion of the heathen when they gazed with superstitious awe upon the performance of Christian ceremonies; but the time for that is now past. Christian worship presupposes the existence of a Christian congregation, and consists in the expression and self-manifestation of the Christian life therein at hand. The Christian life, as the highest form of the religious life in humanity, includes instincts of prayer, of homage, of adoration, of sacrifice; and in the exercise of these instincts, as in the exercise of all instinct, there is a certain satisfaction or a certain enjoyment. In Christian worship there is a play of religious feeling, or emotion, in which there is positive enjoyment or bliss. The "getting happy" of the revival conventicle is a rude travesty of this element of worship, but it is a valuable testimony to an important reality. In this respect,

\* For a more complete discussion of the polaric distinctions in the nature and activity of the Church see Ebrard's *Praktische Theologie*, p. 45 sq., which we have followed in the above.

then, worship is allied to art, which likewise has its end in the feeling of pleasure to which it ministers. The artist has no other aim than to give expression to the ideal of beauty which fills and thrills his soul; and his enjoyment consists in the exercise of his art and in the contemplation of its result. And so the Christian engages in acts of worship, not because it is his duty to do so, nor because he thinks of adding anything to God's glory, nor yet because he expects to be made better thereby; but because of the stirring of the religious impulse within him, to which he feels that he *must* give expression, and from the expression of which he receives a satisfaction or pleasure that is altogether unique in its nature. That pleasure, while in some respects it resembles the pleasure of art, is yet by no means the same as this. It receives its essential contents and character from the *nature* of Christian worship. The *essence* of Christian worship consists in personal communion with God, or in self-conscious intercourse of the human spirit with the Divine, which is the source of all truth and goodness and beauty. And the enjoyment that springs from worship, therefore, is the joy that comes from the communion of kindred and loving spirits, as well as from the contemplation of the goodness and beauty which are attributes of the Divine Being.

But while it is representational, Christian cultus is at the same time also a teleological activity, having its end in the edification and growth of the Church. This view is distinctively recognized by St. Paul in the directions given to the Corinthians (I. Cor. 14). Here the Apostle discusses various parts of Christian worship, especially that ecstatic speaking with tongues, consisting in the rapturous utterance, in inarticulate sounds, of feelings too large and deep for utterance in grammatical speech, which was a peculiar phenomenon in some of the Apostolic churches, and directs that all these things shall be done, not merely for the satisfaction of individuals, but with a view to the benefit of the congregation. "Let all things be done unto edifying," says the Apostle. The same view is implied also in what is said about the exercise of singing in Christian worship (See

Eph. 5 : 19 and Col. 3 : 16). The Apostle Paul would doubtless have been far from endorsing the idea that in singing "the congregation merely preaches to itself," and that the design of this exercise is simply to stir up pious feelings in the worshippers. And yet the Apostle does recognize instruction and admonition as one of the ends of this exercise. "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly," he says, "teaching and admonishing one another with psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your heart unto God." Singing, according to this statement, is a performance rendered unto God, a representational, a sacrificial activity; but it is at the same time also a performance having for its end the growth of the congregation in faith and piety.

That edification is an end and result of divine worship is also the teaching of experience. True worship tends to make men morally as well as spiritually better and purer. It has a sanctifying and transforming influence upon the members of the Church. It ministers to the illumination of the understanding in relation to God and divine things, to the purification of the feelings and to the strengthening of the will. All this is matter of constant experience. They who assemble regularly in the house of God, with God's people, and take part in the devout worship of God are thereby made morally better and stronger. They are made better able to resist the temptations, bear the sorrows and perform the duties of life. And this increase of moral strength, we hold, is not merely a result of the reflex influence proceeding from acts of worship, but a result of that personal communion with God in Christ in which Christian worship essentially consists. There is thus fulfilled in Christian experience the sentiment expressed by the Psalmist: "The Lord shall send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion" (Ps. 20 : 2).

But as the Church is a divine-human organism, an organism informed and animated by the Spirit of Christ, it follows that cultus, as a function of the Church, must be an activity in which there are united both divine and human factors or elements. There



must be a human factor, an activity or agency of man having God for its object ; and there must be a divine factor, an activity or agency of God having man for its object. These two factors may also be designated respectively by the terms *subjective* and *objective* ; or by the terms *sacrificial* and *sacramental*, if they be used in a somewhat broad sense, as they are by some, especially German, writers. The sacrificial element, then, embraces the æsthetic, and the sacramental the pedagogic factor of cultus ; and the former belongs to the representational, the latter to the teleological side.

There is, then, a sacrificial element in cultus ; for in the self-representation or manifestation of the life of the Church which takes place in cultus there is not merely a general exhibition without reference to any particular object, but a specific self-presentation to God. The congregation offers and presents itself to God in prayer and song, in confession and almsgiving. This is its *sacrifice*. That such sacrifice is not to be regarded in the nature of a meritorious work, putting God under obligation to the worshipper, we have already seen ; and it is scarcely necessary to add that it is not to be regarded, either in the nature of a propitiatory performance by means of which an angry Deity is supposed to be appeased and His good will obtained. That is a pagan notion which deserves to be eliminated not merely from the theory of cultus, but from theology in general. But if worship, in its sacrificial element, be not meritorious nor propitiatory has it, then, no significance as value for God ? To affirm this would imply another than the Christian conception of God ; it would imply that God is not a living and personal being, and that He is neither capable of sensibilities nor of judgments of appreciation. In this view God would become a mere blind force, and the act of worship would be emptied of all meaning. This is the conclusion reached by the heathen when he has found out that his idol is a mere stone, but has not yet progressed to the notion of a supersensible, spiritual deity.

The act of worship must be regarded as having value for God ; that is to say, it must be regarded as affecting God agree-



ably or of pleasing Him. God as a personal being, in whose likeness we are made, must be capable of being pleased as well as displeased. And there are two things in worship by reason of which it may be said to be a pleasure to God: first, *love*, or the sincere purpose to please; and, secondly, the *beauty* or propriety of its form. Worship, to be true, must be sincere; it must be the sincere utterance of a loving heart, and must be *intended* for the pleasure of God. But whatever is done with the sincere *purpose* of pleasing God must in so far really *be* pleasing to Him. In this way we can understand how the animal sacrifices of primitive times, though proceeding from a misunderstanding of the character of God, were yet pleasing to God. A child's efforts to gratify a mother by assisting in her work will be gratifying, although there may be little objective value in the child's service. It is the *will to please* that really is pleasing in the child's kindness to the mother. And so it is the will to please God in the act of worship that will be pleasing to Him.

But worship is pleasing to God also by reason of what we have called its propriety or *beauty*. We have seen that worship is allied to art. It has an æsthetic character. It has regard for beauty. It draws upon the arts of architecture, music, poetry, eloquence. The Scriptures speak of worshipping God "in the beauty of holiness," that is, *in holy beauty*. See Pss. 29: 2 and 96: 9; also I. Chron. 16: 29. This is one of the sources of the pleasure which we derive from worship—not the only, nor the chief source, but yet a real source of pleasure. The question then arises: Is this also a source of pleasure to God? Can God be pleased with the beauty which we consecrate to His worship in temple, hymn and speech? This question we believe must be answered in the affirmative. We hold that what is a joy to His children must be a joy also to the Father. The beauty of the flower, which is a pleasure to us, exists because beauty is a pleasure to God. The divine love of beauty has *pleased itself* by creating forms of beauty in positions where no human eye can ever behold them.

“ Full many a gem of purest ray serene  
The dark, unfathomed caves of ocean bear ;  
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,  
And waste its fragrance on the desert air.”

So sings the poet. But the beauty of gem and flower, though hidden in ocean's depths or in desert wastes, is not wasted beauty. Though not seen by any human eye, it is seen by the universal eye of God, to which it is a joy forever. But if God has a sense for beauty, and an appreciation of beauty, then the beauty of worship also, as well as the beauty of art in general, must have real value for God. The loving self-presentation to God of a Christian congregation, in the beauty of holiness, therefore, constitutes a real sacrifice—or a sacrificial element—in Christian cultus. In order to prevent misunderstanding here it may be well, perhaps, to add that in Christian worship love and beauty must ever be united. When separated from love, or from truth, beauty is no longer pleasing either to God or to man, and in fact ceases to be beauty and becomes merely meretricious adornment.

But there is also a *Sacramental*, or a divine, element in cultus. By a sacrament in general we understand the presence of a spiritual reality or power in a visible form. We have already seen that the activity of the Church as the mystical body of Christ, while on the one hand an activity of men, is on the other hand an activity of Christ in the Spirit. This divine activity is exercised in various acts and forms of cultus ; and this is what gives to cultus its sacramental character. There is, then, in cultus not simply an activity of man terminating upon God and designed for His pleasure—a sweet smelling savor unto the Lord, but also an activity of God terminating upon man and designed for his edification and sanctification. What the elements of nature—air, light, heat, soil, moisture—are to the development of vegetable life, that the divine energies, working in and through the cultus of the Church, are to the development of the spiritual life of man. Christ says : “ Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.” And it is this presence of Christ in the Church, and the working of His

Spirit in the various forms and acts of cultus, that gives to cultus its objective teleological character, in virtue of which it ministers to the edification and sanctification of the worshippers. We have in modern times learned to appreciate the influence and value of environment in the development of life. Now Christian cultus constitutes the appropriate environment for the development of Christian character. It forms a bosom of gracious influences and powers by the operation of which the worshippers are transformed into Christ's image from glory to glory.

These two elements or factors of cultus, now, the sacrificial and the sacramental, belong to *all* the acts of cultus, but in different degrees and proportions. The sacrificial element is represented mainly in prayer, and praise (song), and oblation (alms-giving); the sacramental element in the word of God (reading and preaching), and in the sacraments properly so called. But while this distinction is valid, it remains true, nevertheless, that the sacrificial and sacramental, or the human and the divine, elements belong in some degree to all acts of cultus. Thus while prayer may be considered mainly as a sacrificial or human activity, yet the divine energy is not wholly wanting therein; for, as St. Paul says, Rom. 8 : 26 : "The Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not how to pray as we ought; but the Spirit Himself maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered." So the sermon, in so far as it is a confession of the truth of the gospel already appropriated by the Church, is sacrificial and representational in character, like creed, hymn and prayer, while in so far as it aims at the further appropriation of the truth, under the accompanying operation of the Holy Spirit, it is sacramental and teleological. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper involves the two sides or elements in proportions approaching nearest to equality. It is a sacrament, inasmuch as the Lord therein communicates Himself personally to the congregation for its spiritual edification and growth; and a sacrifice, or Eucharist, inasmuch as the congregation therein offers and presents itself to the Lord. And these two sides will be equal to each other whenever the self-presentation of the congregation

shall be as complete and whole as is the self-presentation of the Lord.

As to the number, forms and order of succession of the various acts of cultus no definite conclusion can be reached from merely *a priori* principles. From the general conception of Christian worship as a direct communion of the spirit of man with the Spirit of God, we cannot determine what precise acts should be embraced in the outward arrangement of cultus, and in what particular order they should succeed each other. Nor does the New Testament furnish any rules or precepts concerning this point. The New Testament mentions various acts of worship, and sometimes gives the condensed contents of prayers, but we are never informed how these acts were related to each other, and in what order they occurred. The New Testament contains only fundamental principles concerning the nature and acts of divine worship, not a formal code of laws. The system of Christian worship does not rest upon formal divine statutes, but is the vital product of the spirit of worship in the Church. Hence for our knowledge of the number and kind of its several acts, and of their relations, we are dependent upon history.

Now the most constant and most prominent acts of worship, as they have appeared in the development of Christian cultus, are prayer, consisting of confession of sin and of faith, of thanksgiving, petition and intercession; praise or song; reading of Scripture and preaching; administration of the sacraments; offering of alms, and benediction. The determination of the proper order of succession among these acts, and of the proper manner of performing them, belongs to the science of Liturgics. We notice here but one question, namely, the question as to the central or fundamental element of Christian cultus. In regard to this question two opposite views prevail. One view makes the sermon central; the other makes the Eucharist central. The history of liturgical practice decidedly favors the former of these views; for the leading liturgies are certainly constructed upon the principle of the centrality of the Eucharist. And this practice is in harmony also with the fundamental conception of Chris-

tian worship. That conception, as we have already seen, is the idea of a conscious personal communion between the worshipper and God in Christ. In worship the person of the worshipper comes into direct contact with the person of God in Christ; and this contact is a source both of spiritual enjoyment and of spiritual strength to the worshipper. Now in what act of cultus does this idea of personal communion with God come to its clearest expression? Manifestly in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which must, therefore, be declared to be the center of Christian cultus, or, as it is expressed in our Order of Worship, "the inmost sanctuary of the whole ~~Christian~~ worship."

This does not mean that the Lord's Supper must necessarily be the most *prominent external feature* of worship, or that it must be celebrated on every occasion of worship; but only that the idea of communion of Christians with each other and with the Lord, which is represented in the Lord's Supper, must be the central and ruling idea of the whole and of every single act of cultus. This idea of personal union with the Lord must be the ruling idea even of the sermon. Not only must the sermon be animated and sustained by the feeling of union with the Lord on the part of the preacher, but its object also must be the origination or the deepening of a similar feeling of union with the Lord on the part of the hearers; and this is the fundamental idea expressed in the institution of the Lord's Supper.

But the preaching of the gospel, or the ministration of the word, is the most important means for the realization of this idea in the lives and experiences of men. That idea cannot be realized by a magical operation, but only by a moral process involving the faculties of feeling, intelligence and will, which can only be reached and influenced by the rational and moral ministry of the word. Hence we see the importance of the sermon relative to all other acts of cultus. We believe, indeed, that Luther went too far when he said that "a Christian congregation should never come together unless the Word of God is preached and prayer offered, and that where the word is not *preached* it would be better neither to sing, nor to read, nor to come together at all."

doubtless, an extreme view ; and yet even this view is not  
 ul to the Christian life as is that which suppresses the  
 altogether, and suffers the whole of cultus to be absorbed  
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 , also should be allowed to control the arrangement and  
 e of the place of worship, that is, of the church. The  
 ust have a prominent place corresponding to the impor-  
 the sermon ; and the altar must be in its proper, central  
 appropriately representing the union of the sacrificial  
 he sacramental elements in cultus. That the term altar,  
 nse of an article of church furniture, does not occur in  
 Testament, signifies nothing ; for the term pulpit does  
 r either ; yet pulpit and altar are required in order to  
 pleteness of a Christian place of worship.

## II.

### THE ONE FLOCK OF CHRIST.

BY PROF. CHARLES A. BRIGGS, D. D.

The story of the good Shepherd, told by Jesus in the tenth chapter of the Gospel of John, is a favorite one with most Christians, especially because of the tender personal relation between Christ and His people which it so clearly and touchingly illustrates and sets forth. This personal relation is usually considered with reference to the individuals of the flock. I propose at this time to consider it with reference to the flock as a whole.

Jesus Christ is the Shepherd of each one who knows His voice; but He is also the one Shepherd of a flock which embraces the whole body of Christians.

No one can be a rightful member of that flock who does not know the Shepherd's voice, who has not entered by Him into the fold, who does not go in and out at His call. And such sheep will not fail of recognition by the Shepherd. He saves them at the cost of His own life and no thief or robber can snatch a single lamb out of His hands. No Pharisee or Sadducee can exclude a single one of them from His love.

At least two Messianic passages of the old Testament are at the basis of this similitude. The prophet Ezekiel (34: 11-31) predicts that Yahweh the faithful Shepherd of Israel will recover His scattered sheep, restore them to their land again, and make with them a new covenant of peace and blessing. At the time of this prediction the people were scattered in exile. The prophet sees them restored to the Holy Land. In the time of Jesus the Jewish people had for many centuries been dwelling in the land of Israel worshipping their God in the temple at Jerusalem. There were still multitudes of Jews scattered over the world; but they were not in exile; they had the privilege of returning to

Palestine if they chose; they remained in other lands for commercial reasons. Therefore we cannot think of the Jews of the Dispersion when Jesus said, "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold; them also I must lead and they shall hear my voice (John 10: 16); for all of the Jews of the Dispersion were recognized as belonging to the fold of Israel; their offerings were received in the temple, and whenever they made pilgrimages to Jerusalem they entered the holy places as freely as the Jews of Palestine.

By the other sheep not of the fold of Israel, Jesus means Gentiles scattered over the world, whom He was to lead into union with the flock of Israel, making of the two one flock. Jesus recognized that there were in His time sheep of God which did not belong to the race of Jacob; that God was preparing other nations as well as Israel for the Messianic salvation; and that the mission of the Messiah was to gather all the sheep, Jew and Gentile, into one flock. "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son" (John 3: 16). "The Father hath sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world" (I John 4: 14). The world is the aim of the redemptive activity of Jesus Christ. The Saviour is the Saviour of individuals, each one by himself; but He is more than that; He is the Saviour of the race of man; He is the Saviour of the organism of creation; He is the Saviour of the world.

The goal of redemption is and can only be the comprehension of an infinite variety of individuals, each one in the initial stages of his redemption, saved alone by himself, but gathered into an organism of salvation, in which alone, through the action and reaction of redemptive forces, the salvation of the individual can be completed. Jesus does not propose to save every individual man or thing in the world, but He does propose to save the organism of the world and the organism of humanity. Every man and every thing that obstructs the redemption of the organism will be cut out from it, as one cuts off a dead branch, or prunes a sluggish vine, or removes a corrupt growth from the human body; but every salvable part of the organism will be retained and improved; each will be treated effectively by itself; but each also in its relation to the organism as a whole.



The story also presupposes another prediction of Ezekiel (37: 21-28). The prophet by the joining of two sticks symbolizes the reunion of Israel and Judah under the second David, and predicts that "they all will have one shepherd." The predictive Spirit of Jesus is not confined, like that of Ezekiel, to the two sections of the children of Jacob and to the land of Palestine. The land of Palestine has been transformed for Him into the whole creation. Israel and Judah had for centuries been united; all the tribes of Israel worshipped in union in the temple at Jerusalem.

Jesus, in His vision, sees Jew and Gentile in place of Israel and Judah, and predicts their union under the one Shepherd, the Messianic King. He Himself will effect that union. It is His mission to accomplish it. He will die for His sheep. He will rise from the dead and ascend to His Messianic throne to redeem them. He sends forth His ministers to preach the gospel to the whole creation, and tells them that until the world has heard His gospel and accepted it He will not come again. His advent to judge the world and to accomplish its full salvation will be then, and then only, when all the sheep have been led into the one flock.

The one flock, as a complete and perfect organism, is the goal of the redemptive work of the Messiah, the ideal at the end of the Messianic age. Was it therefore in the mind of Jesus that His sheep should remain scattered or organized in a great number of different flocks until that time? Is the one flock an ideal of the second advent not to be realized until that event? No one can think so who duly considers these words of Jesus and the corresponding teaching of His Apostles. The one flock will not be complete and perfect until the redemptive work of our dispensation has been accomplished, for the reason that until then there still remain persons who have not heard the gospel, who may yet be saved. The full complement of the Gentiles and all Israel have not yet been gathered into the flock. But that any of the sheep that know the voice of the Shepherd should remain apart from the one flock is out of harmony with the teaching of Jesus and of the entire New Testament. There is one Shepherd

for each of the sheep and one only Shepherd for the whole body of the sheep. It is altogether abnormal for the sheep to be scattered into different flocks. The only normal relation is one flock, one Shepherd.

When now we look at the history of Christianity, and especially at the present condition of the Christian world, it is evident that all Christians are not gathered in the one flock. The Roman Catholic Church recognizes no other flock of Christ than that embraced in its own fold. There are other sheep not of its fold, but they are scattered sheep and in peril of damnation. Protestants distinguish between the visible and the invisible Church. They recognize that the visible Church is broken up into different organizations, but they regard all true Christians as members of the invisible Church. No visible Church at present coincides with real Christianity, for it excludes some real Christians and it includes some who are not real Christians. The one Shepherd, looking down from His heavenly throne, recognizes every one of His sheep whether they are included in the ecclesiastical organizations or not, and in whatever ecclesiastical organization they may be. And He does not recognize as His sheep any one who knows Him not, however eminent he may be in ecclesiastical affairs. Those whom the Good Shepherd recognizes as His sheep, by virtue of that recognition belong to one flock. What right has any ecclesiastic to exclude them? If Jesus, the one Shepherd of the flock, knows them as His, those under-shepherds who refuse to recognize them are in rebellion against Christ. It is not sufficient for Protestants to say that these Christians are in the invisible Church, for they ought to be in the visible Church likewise. Those who are excluded from the visible Church are deprived of all the advantages to be derived from the organization. No one can exclude them from the Shepherd's love; but they may be excluded from the redemptive grace, which flows through the means of grace which are in the hands of the Church alone. Jesus would lead them into the one flock, but, as in the New Testament times, so there have always been, and are now, Pharisees who obstruct the way to the

Kingdom, and with pious phrases and devout requirements prevent the union of Christ's sheep with the one flock.

Many Protestants seems to have given such an undue emphasis to the invisible Church as to obscure the importance of the visible Church, and minimize the great wrong done to the individual Christian by excluding him from the organization of the Church in this world, and the still greater wrong done to the one flock of Christ by scattering it into a number of different organizations. The failure of Christianity to realize the ideal of our Saviour cannot be any other than sinful. The origination and perpetuation of divisive measures in the Church are sins which should not be condoned. Those who under the plea of discipline and use of the power of the keys exclude Christians from the Church are guilty of a sin of an enormity which it is difficult to estimate. It is a sin against the one flock. It is a sin against the one Shepherd. It is what is known in law as *Crimen Majestatis*, *lèse majesté*, treason to the Church and to Christ.

1. It was not the design of Jesus Christ that His one flock should be divided by racial differences.

No greater racial difference could exist than that between Jew and Gentile. And yet Jesus proposed to make the two into one flock. In the Epistle to the Ephesians Paul says that Christ "made Jew and Gentile one;" "Brake down the middle wall of partition between them;" "created in Himself of the twain one new man;" "reconciled them both in one body unto God." (2: 13-16.) In the Epistle to the Colossians it is said that in putting on the new man "there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, free-man; but Christ is all and in all." (3: 11.)

The great divisions of Christianity are on racial lines. The Greek and Latin Churches are divided by racial lines of cleavage. The Latin race combines with the Celtic in the propagation of the Roman type of Christianity. The Greek race combines with the Russian in the conservation of the Greek type. The Copts, the Armenians and the Syrians remain apart, except so far as they have been compelled by poverty and oppression to seek refuge

in the arms of Rome. The German race is essentially Protestant. All these racial divisions have resulted from the intolerance of one race toward another. Christianity was designed to comprehend all races, not to make a Greek into a Jew, or a Jew into a Roman, or a Roman into a German; but to comprehend these and all others in one flock, in which all that is essential to every race should be conserved and combined in the higher unity of a Christianity which comprehends all the races of mankind.

The ecclesiastics of Christianity have been more intent upon constructing sheepfolds than in gathering sheep into the flock of Christ, and they have constructed such small folds that the flock of Christ could not get into any of them. And they have made the doors so low and narrow that it has been impossible for many to enter therein who were anxious to do so. Jesus came to save the world and to gather the different races into one flock. His under-shepherds have sought to save certain kinds of sheep that were of the approved stock.

The races will doubtless continue to live apart; but the racial types of Christianity should abandon their efforts to impose one type upon another and recognize the legitimacy of various racial types in the common Christianity. It is a folly for us to think that our missionaries can ever succeed in making over Africans into Europeans, or Mongolians into Anglo-Saxons. Jesus Christ sent His apostles to preach the gospel to all the world; let us beware lest we adulterate it with our Latin, Greek or Germanic notions.

2. It is not the mind of Christ that his flock should be divided by national distinctions.

There is much less excuse for these than for the racial. Racial distinctions are rooted in great physical and temperamental characteristics of human nature. National distinctions, while in some respects minor forms of these, are often also artificial, and determined by the results of war or diplomacy. Christianity did not overflow the barriers of Judaism, in order to limit itself to the boundaries of the Roman Empire. It was never the mind of the ancient or mediæval Church that the unity of Christ's flock

should be divided by national lines. It remained for the successors of the Reformers to commit this sin. The Reformers were obliged from the necessities of their situation to organize national Churches; but the Reformed Church in Switzerland and Germany, in France and in Holland, regarded itself as one. The Lutherans of Germany and Scandinavia did not regard themselves as separated by the Baltic Sea. The Church of England did not originally separate itself from the Reformed Churches of the Continent, but recognized them as true Churches, and welcomed their ministry and their people. But in the strifes of the seventeenth century the separating national spirit developed itself and wrought disunion in the Church; the greatest sin in this regard was committed in our own country.

It was the desire of the supreme judicatories of Scotland, Holland and Germany that all the Reformed in the American colonies should be combined in one Church organization. The honor of making this proposition was given to a minister of the Reformed Church. In 1744 Dorsius appeared before the Presbyterian Synod with a proposition for a union of the Dutch and German Reformed with the Presbyterians; and presented letters from the Synods in Holland in favor of such a plan. This magnificent opportunity was thrown away by the Presbyterians because of their own division into the Old and New Sides. As I have elsewhere said "twelve Presbyterian ministers by persisting in the wrong which they had done in dividing the American Presbyterian Church threw away the one great opportunity, which has never since been repeated, of combining the entire Reformed and Presbyterian strength of America in one compact organization." (Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, p. 284.) This failure resulted in the continued existence of two branches of the Presbyterian Church, representing the Scotch-Irish and the Puritan types and the Dutch Reformed, German Reformed and French Reformed; and these have been the parents of divisions which exist to the present day. Very much the same state of things exists among the Lutherans. Although there are other reasons for their divisions, many of them are based entirely upon national distinctions.

It is difficult to see valid reasons why the national Churches of the Old World should be perpetuated in our United States. The State puts the Church to shame. Any man from any nation may become an American citizen, and is welcomed into either of the great political parties, and may, if worthy, be chosen to office; but in the Christian Churches of America it is still important to know whether a man retains the religious peculiarities of certain national Churches of Europe, and whether his religious ancestors came from Scotland or Ireland, Germany or Holland, Scandinavia or England. And in not a few instances these daughter Churches of America claim to be more orthodox than their mothers, and think that they may give the law in ritual and dogma to the Old World.

The Roman Catholic Church sets us a good example here. There we see Germans and Irishmen, Italians and Spanish, French Canadian and Hungarian, all working harmoniously in the same organization. Why should this not be so among the Lutheran and the Reformed? The objector says: Why, you wish to make our Christianity colorless! Can a color be maintained only by keeping it apart from all other colors? Is it necessary to have every color separated from every other color by a chasm of darkness? The richest colors are in the rainbow, where they blend to constitute the pure light. They may be brought out with a prism whenever they are needed. So the Church of Christ will never shine in the true, pure light of the Redeemer until all these national colors are blended. Any one of these colors may still be shown when needed; but why should they be always flaunting their peculiarities before you? Why, for instance, should the blue flag of Presbyterianism be always waving in your face?

3. It is against the mind of Christ that his flock should be broken up by differences of social condition.

In early Christianity the bondslave and the freeborn citizen were gathered together into one flock. It was not deemed important to have a separate Church for slaves or for freedmen. The early Church did not organize its congregations into social

clubs, putting the poor into one organization, the middle classes into another, and the wealthy and nobility into a third or a fourth. It was not necessary to organize a Salvation Army to preach the Gospel to the slums, still less Volunteers to reach the artisan class. It is the honor of the Roman Catholic Church that in all ages and in every land it has remained faithful in this respect to Jesus Christ. It has not interfered with social distinctions outside of the Church, but it has always ignored them in the Church. It has remained for American Protestants to organize special denominations for freedmen, and to establish congregations on the principles of social clubs. A representative Methodist preacher recently said in my hearing that Methodism had lost its hold on the lower classes, and was rapidly losing its hold on the middle classes, and it never had any hold on the higher classes. If this is so, it is difficult to see that Methodism has any future. This preacher was certainly too pessimistic, but he clearly shows the evil tendencies that there are among Protestants to classify the people by social considerations. Such a classification of the sheep of Christ is contrary to the spirit of Christianity. Christ Himself will eventually separate the sheep from the goats, but where can we find that He or His apostles ever separated His sheep one from another? Even the goats are permitted to remain with the sheep until the Day of Judgment and the Messiah Himself makes the separation.

4. It is not the mind of Christ that His flock should be divided by differences of doctrine.

It would be difficult to find greater differences in doctrine than between the Pharisees and the Sadducees in the time of Jesus, and yet they did not find it necessary to organize two different ecclesiastical organizations. They worshipped God in the same temple. Paul had conflicts with Barnabas (Acts 15 : 39), and then with Peter and with James (Gal. 2 : 11-13). He asserted his independence, but did not break the unity of the Church. Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians remained in the one flock, though the Church of Corinth was sadly torn by three or four contending factions (1 Cor. 1 : 10-13).



It is necessary that Christians should grow in their experience of Christianity and in their knowledge of its doctrine ; but those whose eyes have been opened to see farther and wider than their fellows are not on that account to exclude from the flock those who are too conservative to follow them. Still less should they depart from the flock at the dictation of those who think that they have erred from traditional orthodoxy.

Compulsory subscription to creeds has ever been a wedge of division. Wedge after wedge has been driven into the body of Christ. Numberless Christians have been cut off from the main body and forced to constitute separate bodies. In no age has this wedge of dogma been so disastrously used as in the Churches of the Reformation. The Lutheran and the Reformed divided in the Reformation itself. In the Lutheran body the party of Melancthon contended for more than a century against the stricter Lutherans, but never divided the Church. In the Reformed Churches the division went further, and the Arminians were cut off from the Calvinistic Churches. Then among the Calvinists, Old School and New School, waged a long war, but did not divide in Europe. It remained for the American Presbyterian Church to rise to the climax of division by erecting Old School and New School in different denominations.

In Germany the differences between Lutherans and Reformed have for the most part passed away. In Holland Calvinists and Arminians are no longer at war. Old School and New School no longer contend in France. These divisive issues are dead in Europe ; why should their ghosts continue to divide American Christianity ?

The German Reformed have the distinguished honor in this country of remaining undivided. There have been controversies among their Churches of much greater importance than those which have rent asunder the Dutch Reformed and the British Presbyterians, but the German Reformed have ever remained true to the genuine type of the Heidelberg Catechism. The German Reformed Church has retained the comprehensive character of the original Reformed theology rather than the



distinctive Calvinistic peculiarities of that type. She has the graceful form and well rounded proportions of a blooming daughter of the Reformation. One does not see in her, as in so many Reformed Churches, the sharp visage and the angular proportions of a venerable dame who has spent her days and wasted her strength in fruitless contentions with her own flesh and blood. Wherefore the German Reformed occupy the best position in our country to mediate between the different Churches of the Reformation and to take the lead in the reunion movement.

Moreover, the emphasis which this theological school, once of Mercersburg, now of Lancaster, has always given to the Apostles' Creed enables it cordially to unite with the Protestant Episcopal Church in urging the second of the Chicago-Lambeth articles as a platform for the Church of the future, "the Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith." (See Briggs, Whither, p. 262.)

Modern ecclesiastics take upon themselves a very great responsibility when they ask young men who would enter the ministry, to subscribe to statements of dogma which were unknown to Christian antiquity, and which would exclude the Nicene Fathers from the flock of Christ. It is doubtful whether Christ's Apostles could receive ordination in many of our denominations. There are some of them who would pronounce the Saviour of the world a heretic if he should again enter our world as a reformer of theology and morals.

Let the orthodox Lutherans adhere to their orthodoxy. Let the various types of Calvinism, supra-lapsarian, infra-lapsarian, Old School and New School, maintain their theories. Let the Melancthonians and Arminians, the Princetonians and every other school of doctrine, contend manfully for their opinions in the forum of scholarship; but he who erects any of these party distinctions as fences for the flock of Christ is guilty of the *Lèse Majesté*. He divides the one flock of Christ; he rejects sheep whom the one Shepherd owns. The time has well-nigh come when Jesus Christ will make it clear that true orthodoxy is to have the mind

of Christ, and to think of men and things as Christ thinks of them, and that He is the heterodox man and schismatic who pushes from him any one of the sheep of the good Shepherd.

5. It is not the mind of Christ that His flock should be divided by differences as to worship.

The Church of Great Britain was torn with controversy for centuries by the persistent effort of the British crown and the English Bishops to impose uniformity of worship upon the ministry and people. Out of that controversy has come all that complexity of worship which is seen in the numerous denominations which were born in Great Britain. The Reformed and the Lutherans of the Continent never suffered seriously from such controversies. They always had liturgical worship, but granted considerable freedom in its use, and did not exact rigid uniformity. There have been liturgical controversies in the Reformed Churches of America, due, if I mistake not, more to their environment than to any internal evolution. A happy result of these controversies in the German Reformed Church has been the agreement of the various parties to live together in peace in the same communion. They have a revised liturgy, which is one of the best. It is not imposed, but is optional, to be used in whole or in part or not at all. They present, therefore, an ideal situation for all the Churches of the Reformation which shows the only legitimate way for the solution of the liturgical controversies of British Christianity.

The House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, notwithstanding their attachment to that marvel of liturgies, the Book of Common Prayer, have said in the Chicago Declaration, in their proffer of reunion to the Christian world, "that in things of human choice relating to modes of worship and discipline or to traditional customs this Church is ready in the spirit of love and humility to forego all preferences of their own."

If such a spirit animates the Protestant Episcopal Communion and such a practice exists in the Reformed Communion, there remain no serious obstacles to the solution of the liturgical controversies of Christendom. The practice of the Reformed Church

might be extended so that the Book of Common Prayer should be used in the congregations as well as the Reformed Liturgy, both optional in whole or in part. Let Luther's Liturgy in its various forms have freedom of use also. Such a practice should unite Reformed, Anglicans and Lutherans.

Let the congregations use ceremonies or not, as they please, and whatever ceremonies they please, without let or hindrance. Let the local church have freedom in all such matters. If such a policy could be adopted—and it is only a logical evolution of the spirit of the Chicago-Lambeth Declaration and the practice of the Reformed Churches—then all liturgical barriers to reunion would disappear. The reunited Church will worship God in much grander strains, when every form of Christian prayer and of Christian song, of human voice and instrument of music, of culture and art, of vesture and of ceremony, shall combine in the grander harmonies of earthly oratorios, which will embrace as infinite variations as the heavenly choirs depicted in the Book of Revelations. (5 : 8–13; 7 : 9–12.)

6.. It is not in accord with the mind of Christ that His flock should be divided by differences in Church government.

The study of the New Testament ought to convince us that only the most general principles of Church government were known and practiced by the Apostolic Church. Theories of Church government by divine right, held by the founders of many of the existing denominations, have been abandoned by the scholars in those denominations. Church history teaches us that the government of the Church has been in great measure influenced by the civil government. The differences between civil and ecclesiastical government in our time are largely due to the survival of more ancient forms of government in the Church after they have been modified or abandoned by the state. There is no existing church government which has the right to say to others, We only have the authority of Jesus Christ and you must submit to us.

The elaborate systems of Church government are divisive. They set up fence after fence, barrier after barrier, limiting the capacity of the fold of the Church, and so compel great masses

of the sheep to remain scattered or to gather in separate flocks. The larger part of the ecclesiastical machinery in our denominations is essentially schismatic. It is un-Christian or anti-Christian and must eventually be destroyed. The good Shepherd will not tolerate much longer the schismatic folds which men have constructed to divide his flock.

The Protestant Churches of the Continent of Europe have not been divided by questions of Church government. British Christianity has committed the great sin of dividing the flock of Christ by questions of polity. Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, Independent, Friend, Methodist—these all represent divisions in British Christianity by theories of Church government. There are certain advantages in each one of these polities, but each one of them has unfolded its own peculiar form at the expense of certain advantages contained in the others. Richard Baxter in 1653 led in the organization of the Worcester Association in which he says: "The main body of our Association were men that thought the Episcopal, Presbyterian and Independents had each of them some good in which they excelled the other two parties, and each of them some mistakes, and that to select out of all three the best part and leave the worst, was the most desirable (and ancient) form of government." (Briggs Whither, p, 235, Church Concord, preface, London, 1691.) These men were right; but the seventeenth century was intolerant to such noble principles. They are the ones which lead to the reunion of Christendom. We should be willing to give up everything that is not essential in order to the inestimable boon of recovering the unity of Christ's Church. Those who have this spirit will readily agree with the League of Catholic Unity, that "the historical Episcopate in various forms already prevails extensively throughout the Christian world, and as connected with the Scriptures, the creeds and the sacraments, it might become a bond of organic unity among the Christian denominations by completing their Congregational, Presbyterian or Episcopal systems, and at length recombining them normally in one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church."

The unity of the flock of Christ is entirely consistent with diversity in the sheep. The greater the diversity the grander the unity. From the German Reformed University of Frankfurt on the Oder went forth a great Irenic wave at the beginning of the seventeenth century. That wave bore on its crest the famous sentence "In necessary things Unity, in unnecessary things Liberty, in both Charity." (Parænesis Votiva. See *Presbyterian Review*, 1887, p. 745.) Rupertus Meldenius, the author of that sentence, was probably from Melden, on the borders of Bohemia and Silesia, in the midst of all the great religious parties at the beginning of the 17th century. Taking our stand upon that sentence, it would not be difficult to coöperate with the good Shepherd in leading all His sheep into the one flock.

The House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church was the first ecclesiastical body to attempt a definition of these essentials. They make four propositions to Unity which have been called the Quadrilateral. I agreed to them as soon as I read them. (See Huntington's *Peace of the Church*, Preface, 1891; *Presbyterian Review*, 1887, p. 132.)

Let other communions consider them and say whether they are satisfactory or not. If they say not, then they are bound to give their own definition of these essentials. If we could get from the supreme judicatories of the several denominations their several definitions of these essentials, we could easily compare them and determine whether they might not all be reduced to common factors.

The definition of the essentials of the Church may be regarded as the formal principle of Church Unity. Something more and something better is needed. That definition itself will never be made unless the irresistible force of a material principle compel it. Love is that force. Love, as Rupertus Meldenius clearly saw and strongly stated, is the cementing principle in things necessary and things unnecessary alike. Love has the only eye which can distinguish between the essential and the unessential in Christianity. Love is the reconciling force which unites the sheep to their Shepherd and attaches the sheep one to another—

concentrates and solidifies the flock. Love covers over and puts out of sight a multitude of sins of individuals and of ecclesiastical bodies. Love detects and brings to light all that is good in the individual and in the denomination. Love sacrifices every individual preference and consecrates all to the common weal. Therefore Love is the material principle of Church Unity.

One flock is the ideal of the one Shepherd. Every ideal of the Christ is sure of realization. He prayed shortly before his departure for his disciples that "they may all be one" (John 17: 21). His prayer will certainly be granted by the Father. The Messiah who lives and reigns over the Church has the same ideals and prayers as those He had in His earthly ministry. We know, therefore, that He is at work in heaven and on earth to accomplish the unity of His Church. Woe be to those who obstruct or oppose the plan of the King of the Church. Blessed are those who pray for it, work for it and share in it.

### III

## THE CHURCH AND THE LABORING CLASSES.

BY C. CLEVER, D. D.

Among the many problems with which the waning century bristles so freely, none clamor more earnestly for a hearing than those which have been raised by labor. There is about them an earnestness and determination which has been begotten in the lowest depths of the human heart. When a man's social, political and physical existence is at stake, we need not wonder if he inquires into the cause of his trouble. If he chances to find it embodied in government, or in any combination, though existing under the protection of law, he will not be slow in demanding redress. An empty flour barrel, a home in peril, and the liberty of country at stake, rouse all his manhood and nerve his arm for a sturdy stroke. When thus driven to bay he is ready to fall upon anything that he imagines lends an influence to his oppressions. He is not always able to discern the form of a friend, since the shadow over all the plain of his existence has disturbed everything. In his calmer moments he discovers his mistake, and none is more ready to make all proper amends. When in a fit of despair, he calls loudly upon everything that promises any relief from his distress. He listens to any voice that has in it a note of triumphant hope. To what does he so sympathetically turn as to the Church. John Stuart Mill, who has given such encouragement to labor movements, has told him that in other days, when the weak were prostrate at the feet of the strong, the Church plead to the strong for the weak (Dissertation 2:155). And the pleading was successful. Kings and princes stopped in their mad career of revelry and conquest, and lifted up the prostrate brother who was about to be crushed under the iron hoofs of their prancing steeds. He feels the oppressor's hand heavily

upon him now. He is reminded that the Church is the embodiment of the courage and love of Jesus Christ. Though the clear outlines of that majestic figure, with His pure teachings has grown somewhat dim; yet the traditions have not entirely faded from his mind and heart. Mill again reminds him that in the Middle Ages the Church was the "chief refuge and hope of oppressed humanity" (Dis. 2: 293). He timidly listens to the optimistic views presented from the pulpit, though for a moment he hesitates to make a request, since he is not counted among the elect. But encouraged by the comprehensive invitation, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest," he ventures to supplicate the Church to plead his cause against an oppression, real or imaginary, which endangers all that he holds dear. He is disappointed. He imagines that his pleadings have fallen upon indifferent ears. Expecting an immediate espousal of that cause which compels him to act, he finds a policy of splendid non-interference. It has become a settled policy to keep hands off. The laborer sinks to a lower plane of life, and the separation between the Church and his class grows more ominous.

There is a stubborn resistance to the truth that the mass of laborers have become estranged from the Church. Those who courageously insist upon it are pronounced alarmists. Men are loathe to believe that the accumulated energies of nineteen centuries of Christianity and love would allow such a state of affairs to exist. It is mortifying to our boasted civilization. It puts to shame some of our easy-going ideas about the duties which belong to the Christian life. In all the great cities of both the Old and New World a large proportion of the laborers are outside the pale of the church and never come within the reach of its influences. Overshadowing evils shut out the beneficent beams of the Sun of Righteousness, which has arisen with healing in His wings. In Berlin, the intellectual center of German thought and life, there is but one church to about 20,000 souls. In London there is but one Church to every 3350 people. In New York one to every 2,468. Cardinal Manning asserted a short time before his



death in a public address that nearly three-fourths of the population in London are beyond the influences of the Churches, except in the most general way.

A superficial glance, into one of our Churches on a Sunday morning will show us an assembly of well-to-do people. "The merchants, the clerks, the professional people, the teachers, are not deserting Churches. The proportion of wage earners in the assembly is constantly diminishing. The middle walls of the partition between class and class are becoming as fixed as the laws of the Medes and Persians. In the days of early Christianity a great wave of charity like a mighty current that burst its banks, swept away every impediment to the activity of universal charity among all of the brethren. The brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God were not crystallized in catechetical formula, but they were marvellously active in all the common concerns of social life. It is argued that much of that same spirit could not be introduced into the modern business world. It is true it would stop the exchange. It would blot Wall Street out of existence. It would put into the market whole rows of brownstone mansions and marble palaces. But would it not send a ray of hope into thousands of homes, where now squalor and want have brooded a thick despair, which the most earnest Gospel efforts have thus far been powerless to dispel? We are not able to preach much on the magnificent charity of Barnabas, when he sold all that he had and distributed to the common wants of the brethren. We see in it the ripe fruit of that abounding love begotten of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The pulpit generally explains that as one of the peculiarities of the Apostolic age, which the founder of the Church never intended to be carried out in all subsequent times. I imagine about the only reason we could give for such a conclusion would be the consensus of the commentators. Surely no one would be hardy enough to pronounce that an over-wrought righteousness or an unfortunate excrescence that disfigured the spring time of Church history. It cannot be introduced now, we all admit, but the cannot comes not from the Gospel of Christ, but from the peculiar constitution of modern

society. In the degree that class distinctions assume these granitic forms the difficulties confronting the Church increase.

Dr. Gladden in his *Applied Christianity*, page 162, sums up his conclusions as follows :

It is evident that the average workers, as a class are discontented. They feel that they are not getting their fair share of the gains of advancing civilization.

It is evident that they are becoming more and more widely separated from their employers in social scale.

It is evident that the old relations of friendliness between the two classes are giving place to alienation and enmity.

It is evident that working people have the impression that the Churches are mainly under the control of the capitalists and of those in sympathy with them. If all these things are so, the reasons why the working people are inclined to withdraw from the churches ought also to be plain. It is not the intention of the Church, or of those who are the leaders in Christian work, to give any preference to the wealthy. The goodly man, however, with the gold ring and rich apparel does sit in the high seat, and the poor man in vile raiment must sit yonder.

An effort has been made several times, in different places, by means of circulars to get at the idea which the wage earners have concerning the Church ; and the reasons for their neglect of its privileges. These may be generalized as :

(1). Inability to appear properly clothed.

(2). Inability to pay the amount needed to occupy any favorable position in the Church.

(3). The prominence given to capitalists, who unscrupulously squeeze the very life out of their employees, to add to their ill-gotten gains. The unfortunate feature of all these answers is that they are true. What chance has the honest and good daughter of a hard-working man, with a large family to support, to appear favorably with those who are clothed in purple and fare sumptuously every day. As long as human nature is not wholly sanctified by divine grace, men will feel these things ; and no amount of effort will overcome this unfortunate state. How

can we ask them to come in on a common level and be with those who are gorgeously arrayed out of the wealth that has been produced by the wage earner. To the third and fourth generation he can not fail to feel aggrieved.

There are but few churches which are not managed by men of means rather than by men of character. There does not seem to be anything else for it at this time, so far distant from the millennium.

Since the benevolent spirit of God's people needs such increased development before it will reach the New Testament standard, it must be urged on every occasion from the pulpit. Money, *money*, MONEY is the cry everywhere and on all occasions. The response will not be made unless the appeals are especially urgent, though these appeals should be made in the most judicious manner; and the poor man would be reminded that he was not required to give if he did not have it, yet it becomes trying beyond endurance. His heart is touched by the appeals that come to him, and yet he cannot make any response. He does not find any fault with the church for undertaking a large work and then calling upon the members to respond. He finally takes the only step that is before him and remains away from the church. The question of the more highly favored generally is not how much can I give, but how much will the position that I occupy in the church ask. There are always certain portions of the church set apart for those who are unable to contribute, but over the entrance to that part of the sanctuary the worshipper sees written, Let all who enter here lay aside every sentiment of manliness and accept what is given. Who ever saw the best portion of the church given up to the poor man? Who ever saw the pews in the center of the church put down to such a price as to be within the means of the humblest? Who ever saw an usher put a poor man with knotty hands and sunbrowned countenance, clothed in patched pantaloons, though as clean as a new pin, in the best pew in the church? There are but few who would expect it, but if they did they would be sadly disappointed. The poor man, in the humble dress, may exhibit in everyday life

the highest type of Christian character, and may be a light shining in the darkness, but all this goes for naught in a large portion of the churches. If Jesus Christ came into the most of our churches without those outward accompaniments that would attract the crowd He would be requested to stand there, or sit here under my footstool. When the poor is unable to pay, how can he help but feel disturbed in mind when his need of charity is thrust upon him so squarely. In the things that belong to his social and physical life he will suffer truly before he will become an object of charity. The same spirit carried into the church will make him but a casual visitor, while the means at hand to contribute towards the expenses of the church run so low.

The poor man is also annoyed at finding himself on a level with those who have consciously or unconsciously been grinding him all the week. As one of the sufferers expresses it, "when the capitalist prays for us one day in the week, and preys on us the other six, it can't be expected that we will have much respect for his Christianity." The capitalist has become separated socially and physically from those who are under his employ. To him the wage earners have become so many machines, out of which he wants a certain dole of brain and brawn to be drawn. The idea of brotherhood has been lost sight of. They do not seem to have one common father. Somewhere in my reading I have seen a comparison between the relation of master and slave in antebellum times and the owner of a large factory and the hands under his employ. The advantages were immensely in favor of the former. Though the announcement at first seems rather startling, yet the slave was not so much of a machine as the large number of employees in these days of tremendous enterprises. What possible relation can there be between a railroad president and those who are under his employ? There cannot be expected anything like personal interest under the most distressing circumstances or sufferings from the most grievous wrong. The Jews groaning under the tax gatherers who preyed upon them to the utmost limit will convey to us some idea of the suffering, which must be endured by the laborers who are under a soulless

corporation. The laborer is continually at the mercy of his employer, and therefore he has no redress. Whenever there must be a curtailment of expenses the laborer feels it. Then there is discord and distress. Then there is a decrease of salary, while with the officers of the corporation or the stockholders there is the usual revenue. When such men are fawned upon and favored in the churches we must not be surprised if the laborers, who have suffered six days from the unrighteous mammon, will not try to make common cause with it in the churches on the Sabbath day. If there is no soul-to-soul struggle in the week and in the common concerns of everyday life there can not be found anything of that sort on the Sabbath Day. Business and religion must go together if religion and business can meet together beneath the droppings of God's house.

This unfortunate state of affairs has not been wholly a one-sided arrangement. There have been wrongs on both sides. The laboring class has been over-sensitive. They have refused to submit to certain annoyances that belong of necessity to their lot. When they have not been able to gain their ends they have taken the management of affairs largely in their own hands. The result has been a generation of Ishmærites instead of children according to promise. The deliverance which they so earnestly seek cannot be found in the use of means which are the favorite stock in trade of demagogues. Shœffle, the famous and able social economist, says: "The social questions of the present day may, indeed, be *regarded* by the political economist exclusively in their economical aspect, but they can never be *solved* in all their bearings without coöperation of all the moral potencies of society." (Luthrardt, Vol. 3, p. 376.) How easy it is for men to fall into the idea that relief can be found in temporal means. While "there are many who admit, indeed, a mere rise in wages, a mere increase of income, will not suffice permanently to raise the condition of the working classes and to reconcile them to their condition," yet there are hosts of so-called leaders who see nothing beyond this. They are asking for nothing but an increase of the comforts and conveniences of life. The hope of the future, for labor-

ing men, does not lay in an increase of profits and an equitable sharing of them. In a lecture delivered in Berlin and quoted in Luthardt's "Moral Truths of Christianity," page 377, occurs the following: "They think that the something else that is wanting is better education, more cultivation of the understanding, more intelligence, more knowledge, in short, to use the dying words of Goethe, more light. I say, on the contrary," continues the lecturer, "that highly as I appreciate the value of a more solid education of the working classes, it is not only more light that is wanted, but, above all, more love. Everything does not depend only upon enlightening the understanding but also upon warming the heart. It is in the fact that love of many has waxed cold, and that a blind and inordinate selfishness which alienates man from man has taken its place, that I behold the main root of the terrible discord which has attacked society and threatens its dissolution. More love, however, can only arise from drawing more deeply from the source of all love, from a renovation and revival of the Christian consciousness." Failing to grasp these great moral ideas, which are ever uppermost in the teaching of the Church, there has arisen a brood of issues which are wholly destructive. Riot, dynamite, anarchy and confusion are the watchwords of those who have fallen away from the beneficent influences of the Gospel. Before such wreckless and unreasoning masses every institution, human and divine, will be shattered to pieces, with the heartless indifference with which an angry sea, deaf to the entreaties of suffering humanity, engulfs a ship of the line crowded with human freight. The family bond becomes a convenience that can be snapped asunder at the fancy of either party to the union. All states and governments are looked upon as "conspiracies of the rich to promote their private interests and to plunder the poor under the mask of the common good." Religion is confounded with priestcraft and hypocrisy, and unreason is enthroned in the human heart, as surely as in the days of the Revolution it was upon the altar of Notre Dame, personated by a fallen woman. Communism becomes rife in every circle and declares that religion should be done away with, that the family and home life are

open questions, and that a prevalence of the community of goods should be brought about by the peaceful means of persuasion. If this end cannot be reached in a peaceful way, they quote the language of Kingley as their own: "No human power ever beat back a resolute forlorn hope; to be got rid of they must be beaten back with grape and canister;" and thus the peace and the good will of the Gospel is unheard; the teachings of the beloved Saviour are forgotten, and men are grasping each other at the throat with intent to kill.

Another grievous error of the working man is to yield obedience to that godless philosophy that has been popularized in so many ways. No one can listen to any of the language of the labor agitators, without feeling that the pabulum of their thought has been the materialistic sociology of Spencer and Darwin. "It is impossible to understand by what strange blindness socialists adopt Darwinian theories, which condemn their claims of equality, while at the same time they reject Christianity, whence these claims have issued and whence their justification can be found." (Lareleye's Socialism of To-day, page 20.)

It is only akin with the unreasonableness which marks so much of the labor agitation of to-day. Any one conversant with the highest needs of the human heart must see that home and state and church form a trinity of divine establishments, absolutely essential to the completion of the individual life. These great forces, like air and sunlight and water, are as necessary for the poor as for the rich, and the disintegrating powers arrayed against one or all of them, whether plated with gold or wrapped in rags, are the common enemy of man. A philosophy which, by the most liberal construction, encourages such opposition to the things that are unmistakably necessary cometh not from above, but is from beneath and is sensual, earthly and devilish.

Another grievous fault of the laboring classes is that they have not always recognized their real friends. If a man had any connection with the Church or State they have oftentimes concluded, without any further parleyings, that he must be hostile to the interests of their class. The Church as such has always been



the best friend of the laboring man. Through its teachings and example, it has lifted labor out of the low estate in which it was in the ancient world. Aristotle says all common labor and trading in the life of a citizen are incompatible with political virtue and prosperity. (Luthart, page 372.) For such a life is ignoble. None of the employments carried on by the multitude of artisans, dealers and hirelings, require or excite any moral power. Cicero says: Base and ignoble is also the business of the day laborer. Artisans, too, practise a mean employment, for the workshop implies nothing noble. The Church comes putting an ennobling element into the humblest labor. The 30 years spent in the humble carpenter shop at Nazareth has done more to sanctify the callings of life which require brain and muscle than all the philosophies of ancient and modern times. The Apostles remind the churches that to work is honorable, and if a man shall neglect the demands of industry and trade he shall be counted as a heathen. It was the Church that lifted laborers out of bondage and gave them the rights they now enjoy. Lecky says: (Hist. of Rationalism, page 23) "The Church, which often seemed so haughty and so overbearing in its dealings with kings and nobles, never failed to listen to the poor and to the oppressed, and for many centuries their protection was the foremost of all the objects of its policy." Yet so long as the old antipathy to labor continued, nothing of any lasting value had been effected. But here again the influence of the Church was exerted with unwavering beneficence and success. The Fathers employed all their eloquence in favor of labor.

By this means the contempt of labor was removed and the long concourse of evils which followed in the wake of slavery of the ancient world. "They knew," says Mr. Mill, speaking of the Benedictines, "and taught that temporal work may be a spiritual exercise, and, protected by their sacred character from depredation, they set the first example to Europe of industry conducted on a large scale by free labor." With such a record in favor of honest toil, and the sanctity of it as a moral exercise, established by the doctrine of divine grace, the Church should receive always




a hearty welcome from the laboring classes. She has been a mother to every effort that ennobled human nature, and has nourished every movement which had for its immediate or ultimate aim the amelioration of mankind. It is when driven almost to despair that Charles Kingsley speaks of this painful misunderstanding: "It seemed to me intolerable to be so misunderstood. It had been long intolerable to me to be regarded as an object of mistrust and aversion by thousands of my countrymen, my equals in privilege and too often, alas, far my superiors in practice, just because I was a clergyman, the very office which ought to have testified above all others for liberty, equality, brotherhood, for time and eternity. \* \* \* I would shed the last drop of my life blood for the social and political emancipation of the people of England, as God is my witness; and here are the very men for whom I would die fancying me an aristocrat." The Church might adopt these burning words as her own, only in a far higher and more perfect sense, and hurl them against the great mass of laboring men, who look with suspicious glance upon every effort put forth to interfere with the confusion introduced by unreasoning demagogues.

But has not the Church failed also to properly interfere when the hand of the oppressor has been raised to smite the weaker vessel crouching before him? Some of the earlier Fathers used language which smacks very much of revolution. St. Basil said the rich man is a thief. St. Chrysostom said the rich are robbers; a kind of equality must be effected by making gifts out of their abundance. Better all things were in common. St. Jerome said opulence is always the product of a theft committed, if not by the actual possessor, by his ancestors. St. Ambrose said, Nature created community; private property is the offspring of usurpation. St. Clement said, In strict justice, everything should belong to all. Iniquity alone has created private property. Sentiments like these would sound more at home in a gathering of advanced socialists than in one of the comfortable churches up town in a commercial metropolis, and do they not conform more nearly with the teachings of Christ and his Apostles than the

platitudes with which we entertain a bevy of millionaires, glad to rest awhile in the church, free from the awful strain of the business of the week?

The Church has not insisted upon the stewardship which men have over the wealth entrusted to them. What right, human or divine, has a man of fortune to spend that money in luxury and ease when it is being increased at the expense of the heart's life of his employees? Is wealth a gift of God to be used and not abused as well as the talent with which he is endowed? To possess the power which wealth gives, and then use it to burden those who do not possess such power, is diabolical. The Church has not been diligent in setting forth this phase of the Gospel. It is the lack of devotion to this great truth which roused all the combative nature of Kingsley, Maurice and Thomas Carlyle to warn the English nation against that discrimination which puts the poor at a disadvantage. It seemed as if an Isaiah or Jeremiah had come back again to espouse the cause of the poor. Such advocacy kept Kingsley from preferment and finally helped to put Maurice out of a position which he was well able to fill. The Church of England lent but a half-hearing to these earnest preachers. It seemed as if Mammon had assumed the character of Moloch; as if his priests and many of their aides grew fat and wealthy at the cost of crowds of victims who were immolated before his shrine? Alton Locke and Yeast came like the mutterings of a pent-up wrath. The sermons from the Eversley Church were all tinctured with that fervor which grew in the mind and heart of its noble rector when he said: I am a Chartist. Selfishness and greed and competition have become the controlling elements in business. Bread and meat are the whirligigs with which speculators trifle and play, while children starve and sturdy sons of toil are breaking beneath the burdens which are of necessity imposed upon them. These men are nearly all connected with the Church, or their families are. They are founding universities and seminaries, and the highest judicatories of the Church pronounce benedictions upon their foundations and ask a special blessing upon the donors. Their busts are placed



in the main halls, and their pictures occupy a place which attracts the attention of every visitor. Many of these dollars in the sight of God have blood stains upon them, and the beams of the buildings constructed by such influences will cry out one to the other. How seldom the Church lifts her voice against luxury and ease and comfort, or if the voice is lifted against such a course of life it receives but a small response from the hearers.

The poor man witnesses such kid glove handling of the peculiar vices of the rich. His own mistakes and shortcomings are the themes upon which clergymen in all pulpits expatiate; but the peculiar vices to which the rich are heir to are seldom brought out. "Plate sin with gold, and the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks; arm it with rags and a pigmy's straw doth pierce it." The Church is surely not for the poor man, else it would always remain with him. It is one of the anomalies of American cities that churches have "flitting days." The churches follow the crowds of respectable and well-to-do people. Up town the well-to-do people go, who can come to work in the morning when they please, or whose wives can go to market in their carriages. The large crowd of men who can not afford to pay car fare and who are compelled to be at work promptly early in the morning must live in the lower sections of the city. Churches go up town, but chapels are built down town. Preachers who stand at the head of the list are found in up-town churches. All the accompaniments of comfortable Christian worship will be found in up-town churches. Occasionally a man of exceptionable piety and ability relinquishes one of these spiritual palaces, and gives proof to the world that unto the poor the Gospel must be preached as an evidence of the Saviour's presence and power in the world. In all well-to-do parts of our cities there will be found churches and churches. In the city of my adoption there are nine churches so situated that a young Bethlehem shepherd, with a stone from his sling, might strike steeples of all or nearly all from one given point. Around them cluster magnificent houses, palatial residences. The city has expended lavishly, upon the squares and streets, in close proximity to the highly favored region. In other

sections of the city, where no such outward elegance displays itself, there are squares upon squares where the shadow of a chapel does not fall, and where ministers' calls are like angels' visits, not only because they are few and far between, but because they bring so much light and joy. The work of the Evangelical Alliance has been vigorously prosecuted in the region where churches are so thick as to interfere with each other's locomotion, like cabs on a crowded thoroughfare. But when a line of the city is reached, where the poor and unchurched live, the work stops. The rich or middle well-to-do classes have been visited by earnest Christian people, but where the less favored live the work has languished. Just where the churches have gone, there this effort, the end of which was especially to reach those who had no church relations, has been eminently successful. Where the churches used to be, and where crowds of men gather together who cannot find much light in the dark alleys and courts in which they live, men and women even charged with a piety above the common level cannot be induced to go. Occasionally there are exceptions to this statement, but in general the facts brought before me as one of the officers of the Evangelical Alliance of Baltimore establish the truth of the assertion.

In public meetings where this special kind of general church work is mapped out, it is generally done by the hand of an up-town pastor, who dances to the tune of \$5,000 a year, or somewhere near that. He lays down the plans by which the poor can be reached, and with all his energy urges upon the scattered pastors, in thickly settled districts, the necessity for more consecrated work. The papers, which too often, alas! are the poor man's bible, are crowded with accounts of magnificent offerings, the improvements, the vacations and the special honors lavished upon up-town ministers and churches. The impressions gathered are, that these are the highly favored; these are places where the special manifestations of divine favor are enjoyed; here is where men are sitting in heavenly places.

These are the simple facts staring the wage earner in the face every day. Unconsciously he falls into such a position that

he fears even these Greeks offering gifts. He gets the idea burned into his mind and heart that the Gospel that comes to him is through the favor of some others, who dole it out to him as a charity. It is the churches which are thus highly favored, so far as the world's goods are concerned, which are recognized on all occasions. The rich man's pastor is favored in Presbyteries, Classes and Synods. This does not come accidentally or providentially. It does not result from mental or spiritual superiority. It comes from the plain unvarnished fact that the congregation over which he presides contributes most to the different Boards of the Church. The Church itself is courted and fawned upon, not because its membership is noted for piety and zeal in the Lord's work, but simply on account of worldly influence and wealth. What would St. James say were he to witness these things for a moment? What would the Saviour say if He were to walk and talk with us as in the days of His flesh? A poor unlettered lad could not be made to understand by a good meaning woman, very highly favored and well clad, that he should say our Father. He could say my Father and your Father, but he could not see how one Father could be the governor of two persons, whose conditions in life were so widely separated. It may be a current story without a foundation that a minister called from one of the less favored churches to a higher could not use his old sermons. The truth did not suit so well. Emerson said sadly: "The power of love as the basis of a state has never been tried." May not one who is not a prophet or the son of a prophet say the same thing of the Church? The problem of the Church is to make that divine love manifested in Jesus Christ the basis of all its movements; and then transform the state by introducing the same soothing power into all governmental relations.

Another great fact which the Church has not yet realized is that she has to do with all the concerns of life. Virgil says: "The philosophers are physicians who heal only the great and rich. Plato, who must, however, by no means be depreciated, is read only by men of science and education." But when

Christ came He sought to gain all, and Paul says, becoming all things to all men with the hope of saving some at least. The Church is terribly interested in the philosophical speculations of these later days. The minister is expected to be abreast with the times, by which is always meant an acquaintance with the latest book which in any way has affected the thinking of the day. This brought to ever so high a state of perfection will not soothe the pathway of the poor and heavy laden. The Gospel after which he longs, and which he needs most, touches his life at the point where it is blistered and bruised, in a hand-to-hand conflict with the hard facts of everyday life. Maurice has well said the religion of to-day has no hold upon human life in any of its forms. It treats politics, science, literature as secular; but it dabbles with them, pretends to reform them by mixing a few curt phrases with them, is really affected by all the worst habits which the most vulgar and frivolous pursuit of them engenders.

It trembles at every social movement, at every thought which is awakened in human hearts, at every discovery that is made in the world without. The wants of the poor might easily be satisfied from the extravagances of rich; the spiritual wants might be satisfied from the wasted energies of Christendom. As long as the State must provide for the education of the children, build almshouses for the poor and helpless, asylums for the sick and lame, and halt and blind; as long as Young Men's Christian Associations must be carried forward separate and apart from the churches, to provide a home for the stranger in a strange land; so long as the oppressed laborer must appeal to public sentiment for a redress of his wrongs, the Church has not reached the high-water mark of its privileges. The bakers of Brooklyn and New York, a short time ago sent out 600 circulars to clergymen, pleading with them to aid in securing relief from labor on the Sabbath day; they begged for a response. To these 600 pleadings they received a response from 25 preachers. It will be a rather difficult task to convince these men, in the coming days, that the Church has anything practically to do with the every day life of a working man, when through its representatives it does not

seem to have much to do with his Sunday life. It will not satisfy the honest questionings of struggling men to say that the Church creates a public sentiment and this in the end accrues to the welfare of the oppressed. Public sentiment does not possess requisite thickness to plaster bruised and bleeding hearts, groaning under real or even imaginary wrongs. It is too insubstantial to deliver from a burden that is crushing out all the better elements of human life. *Must* there be a dualistic conflict here as marked as that which existed between light and darkness in Parsee religion? Will we ever realize that glad time when it is promised that the rich and the poor shall sit down together and show that the Lord is the maker of them all? The breach can be removed. The alienations can be broken. The chasms can be bridged. But relief must come from those in power, and the end of the Church should be to enlist it in the interests of the weaker.

(1) THE CHURCH MUST RECOGNIZE THE ACTUAL STATE  
OF THE CASE.

It will not do to pass it by as the priest or the Levite. Suffering men are bleeding and dying by the wayside, having fallen into the hands of thieves and robbers. "There is, notwithstanding all human endeavors on the part of individual employers, and the heroic exertions after frugal self-help on that of many workmen, a consumption of men in favor of capital—a consumption which, by wearing out the vital strength of individuals, by enfeebling whole generations, by breaking up families, by letting men run morally wild, and by its destruction of all alacrity in labor, endangers in the highest degree the state of civilized society."

If statesmen and social reformers look these questions squarely in the face, and realize their terrible significance, is it too much to expect the Church to hasten into the forefront of that battle that looks to their solution? Modern times have placed in the hands of the "so-called working classes powerful weapons. Men in possession of universal suffrage, corporate rights and liberty of coalition are not to be trifled with and can not be put down at a word." The Church must come upon them with more powerful



influence, or these things will be a savor of death unto death for them. If once it is felt everywhere, by friend and foe, that the Church has really grasped the problem, there will be a long step gained toward its solution. Then her voice, which now is but the piping of a lute in a thunderstorm, will come with the majesty of that word which spoke out of the midst of the cloud-capped and thunder-riven mountain of the desert. There will then be a majesty in her voice, not dependent upon the uncertainties of Apostolic succession, or upon the somewhat misty speculations of a dogmatician, but upon its own power. Men, however indifferent, will say it is the voice of God. If there be no recognition of the problem, men will not stay to treat with us or to listen to us. Men do not care what commentators say about the justice of God in afflicting Job or putting a thorn in the flesh of Saul. The only thing they ask at the first when the Church comes to them is, Do you know that there is a conflict, a conflict which means war to the knife, and which must end in the complete destruction of one or the other parties, unless grievous wrongs are righted? After such recognition there will be a willingness patiently to listen to any amount of argument as to the causes which have produced this unfortunate state of affairs. Then they will give the most earnest heed to any suggestions that are made looking to the alleviation of their sufferings. It is a fact patent to all that the Church has not awakened to the clash of the conflict which already surges round our very doors.

## (2) THE CHURCH MUST PREACH THE WHOLE TRUTH TO ALL ALIKE.

Christianity has not lost its power, and the Church has not given over its control to any other establishment, sacred or profane. It is to-day a witness that a divine ruler is over all; that there is a gracious government which extends to all creatures that dwell on the earth; that God is King over all, and that governments and organizations, however formidable, are but eddies in the stream of time, unless they subserve the purpose of eternal justice. It has been charged as cringing at the feet of the great and wealthy; of



trampling upon the poor ; of fancying that her strength lay in her revenues. This temptation is always present, and we are making pages of Church history which will require a good deal more to be read between the lines than is written out in bold hand to keep our successors from blaming us with this grievous sin. The Church "is bound to feel that she is set in the high places and has a voice to reach all classes of society, not that she may utter cant phrases about religion and the Church in the ears of those who think that these phrases signify maintenance of their possession by what are called religious sanction ; but to tell all by words and action that they exist in their different relation as servants one of another in His immediate presence, under His awful eye, who became the servant of all and died for all." (Maurice Patriarch, etc., page 23.) Such a mission appeals at once to all the manliness of human nature. A voice like this would strike dumb the wildest passions of the mob, like the soldiers before the majestic *I am He*, at the entrance of Gethsemane. Paul had a word for the servants, and he spoke it out fearlessly and manfully. He had no time to reconcile the foolish questionings that sprung up in the heart, longing for that freedom which these latter civilizations have made the common inheritance of the earth. The servants were commanded to be obedient to the masters who were placed over them. The obedience was to be that which children render to parents. With the same unquestioning diligence, they were to pursue their calling and listen to no voice which in any way would interfere with their ultimate completion of the task of life. But with the same note of inspiration he preached to the masters. He gave to them a warning which, if properly heeded, would stay every arm uplifted to strike a slave, and paralyze every foot raised to be set upon the neck of a prostrate fellow man. Man's inhumanity to man, which has made countless thousands mourn, would be banished from the earth, if the political economy of the New Testament would be introduced into the social relation of life.

These great truths are for all. Unrighteous dealing must be heroically rebuked and the hot burning waves of divine wrath

must be hurled against them with the indignation of a John the Baptist. Legislatures have busied themselves in finding pet phrases with which to shield the most unrighteous transaction. Gambling in high places, though at the expense of the poor man's bread and meat, has been encouraged in States professedly Christian. Courts of justice have lent a helping hand to shield these criminal procedures when an outraged public has risen up against them. The voice of the Church has been dumb. These same crimes committed by any of the great unwashed throng would have landed the perpetrators behind the bars. Gambling, fraud, trickery can not be made respectable by legislative enactment or encouragement. Fine phrases made current in respectable society can never make the crime of the poor man the virtue of the wealthy. Here is a great field for the Church and its borders are greatly extended by every new advance in our civilization. It will be the practiced eye of those who have been much with Jesus and have been permeated by His teachings that will discern these things. In looking at the increase of our wealth, the growth of our cities, the lengthening of our railroads and the magnificence of our commerce, we exclaim, Master what great stones are here. But what are all these when the spirit of righteousness has gone out. The burning words of Jeremiah must be spoken to-day as never before. "Execute ye judgment and righteousness and deliver the spoiled out of the hands of the oppressors and do no wrong, do no violence to the stranger, the fatherless nor the widow, neither shed innocent blood in this place. Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness and his chambers by wrong, that useth his neighbor's service without wages and giveth him not for his work, that saith I will build me a wide house and well-aired chambers (a country residence) and cutteth him out windows, and it is ceiled with cedar and painted with vermilion." The earnest proclamation of such truths by a messenger well accounted of God would not be palatable. It would shake many of these fortunes to pieces and drive their possessors entirely beyond the pale of the Church. The Church of the future will not be that with a glorious history in

the past, not that which will compromise with the world for the sake of revenue and numbers, but that which can speak the whole truth without a stammer.

(3) THE CHURCH MUST BE OPEN TO ALL ALIKE.

The church is God's house. He has made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the face of the earth. It must be open to all. This truth is gradually dawning upon the minds of the people. It has dawned upon the wage earners long ago. They could not meet the demands made upon them, and they have withdrawn. They have been put out. They have found no place in the house of God. One of the abominations of modern times encouraging this state of affairs is the pew system. This never could have been hatched in the brain of a true Christian spirit. It was born of the Devil, and to the Devil it ought to go. It has been a murderer from the day of its birth. Dr. Pierson says, "In my judgment, the present pew system is the most monstrous barrier that has ever been erected between the churches and the common people." Words akin to these were uttered lately in one of the most intellectual pulpits, and to one of the richest churches in New York. Every day that this is allowed to continue the chasm between the Church and the masses will widen.

It is not merely the fact that pews are rented, but that such a spirit is in the Church. There might be free pews and still the same spirit of exclusiveness, the same sense of superiority. Men cannot hide it simply by opening all the pews to those who come. We sometimes hear it said that the rich and the poor will not sit down together and should not be expected to do so. If such is the conclusion forced upon us by the constitution of modern society, then the ultimate triumphs of Christianity can never be hoped for. If in God's house men can not sit down with their fellows, since custom has put up a barrier which the abounding love of Jesus Christ cannot break down, then farewell to some of the proudest expectations that have cheered the Christian toilers of the past. If a genuinely Christian sentiment possessed by one of the highly favored of the earth cannot meet a like senti-

ment in the heart of the humblest of God's creatures, and both not feel the nearer heaven since it has been there, then a time when the Church shall be without spot or wrinkle or any such thing will never come. That eighteen centuries of Christianity have not realized the divine ideal is patent to a passing observer; that it will not break every barrier down and bring us to see face to face together, and lift up the voice to praise the same common Saviour, from the same building, yea, from the same pew, I cannot believe. Somewhere along the line of Christian history self-interest will become hideous and hateful, and it will be acknowledged that "self-sacrifice is the only law upon which human society can be grounded with any hope of success."—Kingsley.

There are likewise certain facts that must be honestly apprehended and openly acknowledged by the laboring classes.

(1) THERE IS NO DELIVERANCE IN SIMPLE ANARCHY.

In every great historic upheaval there must be a greater end to be subserved and reached. To see the present breaking up, without a reasonable prospect of a new dawn, is recklessness without excuse. Herr Most is not a historic figure.

No man is great when tearing down simply. It might be that out of a wrecked and broken society a new æon of human history could be evolved under the divine guidance of Him who is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea, but such is not the general order of providence in history. Any movement with a probability of reaching a better stage of developement must grow out of the forces of the past. These have been secured under the immediate guidance of God and can no more be ruthlessly disregarded than the ancestry of a man whose character is to bring a new hope to his fellow travelers. The greater part of the social movement of the present time has but one watch word. Down with every power in state or family which is in any way the embodiment of authority. The sword of justice is unsheathed in vain before a populace under the inspiration of such unreasonable motives. That there must come a crashing of the ploughshare of enlightened

Christian sentiment into the stubborn glebe and fallow ground of customs, beaten hopelessly hard by greed and gain is acknowledged by all. Such a breaking up of the fallow ground that the good seed may be profitably cast in will never be attained under the guidance of unreasoning madness. In its rage anarchy has lifted its hand against every pillar of human society. It must learn that the family is sacred, and the hand withered by gaunt famine even must expect the fate of Uzzah if it be lifted against it. It must learn that the state is still the child of God, though legislation and government may be sluggish in redressing the wrongs which threaten the whole life of men; and organized opposition, though ever so formidable, must expect the fate of Sennacherib if it hurl itself against this anointed of God. Organization is praiseworthy. Every effort inspired by Christian manhood should be put forth to have a fair hearing at the seat of government. Money and men should be sacrificed as a turning point in battle till the better day dawns. The cause is just and should not plead in vain. The wrongs can and will be redressed. Strikes even may be justified by the best and enlightened community. There may be a long, long wail of howling, O Lord, how long, without any marked redress. But all this does not justify the Haymarket murders or Trafalger Square riots. Dynamite, fire and bullets in the hands of an unreasoning mob are sorry elements out of which to reconstruct society.

(2) THE LABORING CLASSES MUST RECOGNIZE THE TRUE  
OBJECT OF THE CHURCH AND THE ENDS IT CAN  
REASONABLY BE EXPECTED TO ATTAIN.

Nothing is more unfortunate than the relative position from which the laboring classes have looked upon the Church. It looks to be the incarnation of priesthood and prelacy. It is forgotten that the swaddling clothes of mediæval scholasticism have been cast aside. The cruelties of the inquisition, the bans put upon the righteous acquisition of knowledge, and the entire subservience of every movement of the proletariat, to the control of the priesthood, are not the common experiences of the XIX cen-

tury. The philosophy which has become the stock in trade of the labor agitators, or I should rather say the philosophers, have made a like mistake. Buckle, and Draper especially, in his *Conflict of Science with Religion*, have failed to separate the Church of the present from the excrescences of the Middle Ages, and have failed to distinguish between religion and the partial embodiment of it in the modern Church even. If these intellectual savants are so blinded that they can not see, wherewithal shall the great commonalty which must be led appear.

The Church can never use weapons which do not belong to her. The sword is born in vain when held by the hand of an ecclesiastic. Put up thy sword must ever be the impressive word, sounding in the ears of the Church; when she is tempted to resort to force, even to redress the most grievous wrongs. Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit saith the Lord of hosts. The world does not need warriors as much as statesmen. It will be a glad day when men shall cease to be guided by the grim visaged god of war and shall follow with implicit confidence the star of Bethlehem. Prophets and lawgivers have done far more for the emancipation of the human mind and for the advance of the millennium than the sturdiest warriors whether in ancient or modern times. It is unreasonable then to demand the use of weapons of war by the Church, to lift the suffering laborers out of the oppression that burdens them. It was a lawgiver that brought the children of Israel up out of Egyptian bondage. Though occasionally compelled to bear the sword, yet the greater portion of his life was spent in giving laws and establishing the foundations of the sacred commonwealth. It must be the same now. Socialism has not one single principle entitling it to respect and giving it some hope for the future which does not trace its genealogy back to the influence of Christianity. "The very ideas which have become the inspiration of socialism have been born and baptized at the Christian altar." It is from the apostles of Jesus Christ that the great inspirations have come which have thus far removed the shackles which hold in check the full freedom of man. Ideas are mightier than arms. Bullets

are not a match for mind. Now it belongs to the Church to give birth to the new ideas of righteousness. "The ministers of Christianity are not dynamite and the rifle, but truth and love incarnate in living men." The wage earner must learn this; unless he does, there will follow fast and follow faster confusion worse confounded. The hand of every man will be against his brother, anarchy will spread its sooty wings over smiling homes and prosperous commonwealths, leaving in its shadow desolation and death, compared with which Sahara would be a pleasant dwelling place. The rose garden will be turned into a desert, and the stirring music of busy labor will sound as hoarse as a funeral knell and finally die away as the reflux wave of the sea.

### (3) RELIGION IS THE STARTING POINT FOR EVERY STRUGGLE TOWARDS FREEDOM.

It is curious to notice how this chief factor has been relegated to the shades of forgetfulness. Bishop Butler's words describing the social status of religion at the close of the last century may be used with terrible truthfulness about the laboring classes: "It has come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious, and accordingly they treat it as if in the present age this were an agreed point among all persons of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were, by way of reprisals for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world." Such sentiments must enervate any real heart in a movement carried forward among workingmen. It robs it of all that is worth contending for. A house without a foundation or a tree without a tap root would not be more grievous anomalies than a real movement among men without religion. To throw it overboard at the start, is simply to invite disaster. Heaven is not the resting place of the saints because it has golden streets and pearly gates, and gardens and fields, with never-failing streams, and shaded by trees that bear twelve kinds of fruit and give twelve crops in a year. It is the longed-for and blessed



hope of the saints, because it actualizes the largest ideas of fatherhood and brotherhood. The sons of God there are like God; and the brotherhood of Christ and His followers is perfected peace. The ideal of society should not be that every man should be a Croesus, and that every field should be made to produce an hundredfold. When ideas like these possess the mind of an agitator there is a loud cry for division of property, nationalization of land, sharing of profits with the idle and improvident, and a whole catalogue of theories that promote restlessness and discontent. The aim of the Church must be to actualize the larger amount of fatherhood and brotherhood. Its doctrines must promote a healthier state among men of these great facts; incarnating God and His Son Jesus Christ in the minds and lives of men. Workmen are unreasonable when they disregard her efforts along this line. With all her apparent and real indifference, she has started a stream of beneficence which will finally make every man a brother and unite us together in bonds over which the Father of all will pronounce His choicest benediction.

No solution of this great question is possible without a large element of religion entering into it. No magisterial interference of the state can quell the turbulent stream which, already freighted with some of the most darling interests of humanity, threatens to rush into rapids and down over the falls. It must not be that the vox populi becomes the vox Dei, but that the vox Dei becomes the vox populi. The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Father and of His Christ. This ultimate triumph, which is coördinate with the ultimate triumphs of man, will never be reached till perfect submission shall be secured to the only Potentate and Power whose right it is to command all. He that should dare in any way to interfere with this ultimate triumph, enlisting all the forces and energies of heaven, must in that degree find his name fading from the pages of the Book of Life and in the end have it blotted out altogether. In the wake of his efforts will follow all the plagues that have been threatened against those who dare to add anything to the chart of human redemption, drawn by the steady hand of Him who walketh amid



the flaming splendors of the golden candlestick and whose will it is to dash in pieces like a potter's vessel those who imagine a vain thing or rage against His holy purposes. The most gigantic combinations must feel in the end the burning of His wrath and scorn when they are kindled but a little when planted in the way along which His purposes are moving to ultimate triumph. When the wage earners, who form such a predominant constituency, not only of the brawn and muscle, but of the mind and heart of these modern nations, shall have thoroughly realized that the chief corner stone of every permanency is Jesus Christ and His word, and then work along such lines as this enlightened faith will designate, the shackles will begin to fall from labor's blistered hands and feet and the wealth of the world will be glad to be the servant instead of the master. Then the hoarse and ominous cry from employees and employers saying, "All thine is mine," shall be changed into a sweet, sympathetic service and sacrifice, which will say, "All mine is thine."

## IV.

### THE CHURCH AND THE CHILDREN.

BY REV. S. Z. BEAM, D. D.

The Church has in many respects lost its hold upon the children, in consequence of which they grow up largely independent of its influence. This lamentable fact necessitates the inauguration of extraordinary measures and special efforts to gather in and interest young men and women in religious matters. All this unprecedented agitation regarding the Sunday-school and Young People's Societies is a tacit and, perhaps, unconscious recognition of the widespread falling away of the children of Christian parents from their rightful position in the covenant of grace.

We do not, in this paper, propose to find fault with the Sunday-school or with Young People's Societies. We are glad that these efforts to reclaim our children are pressed so vigorously. But we deplore the state of affairs in the Church which necessitates them, especially as applied to our own Church, which still glories in the time-honored educational system of religion which these measures are intended to replace. We propose, however, to institute an inquiry into the causes which have brought us into this condition.

Our theory has always regarded the children of Christian parents as members of the household of faith, and entitled to the initiary rite of holy baptism, whereby they "are admitted into the Christian Church and distinguished from the children of infidels" (Heid. Cat. Quest., 71). As members of the congregation, and having the seal of Christ set on them, which is a sure sign and pledge of their having been "washed by the blood and spirit of Christ from all the pollution of their souls, that is, from all their sins" (Heid. Cat. Q., 69), they are to *be nurtured in the Lord* (Eph. 6 : 4), and thereby prepared to "ratify and

confirm the promise made in their name at their baptism and acknowledge themselves bound to believe and do all those things which their parents undertook for them (Directory Worship, page 115). This last is, of course, to take place after they have been properly instructed," when the Church bestows upon them the blessing of confirmation by prayer and the laying on of hands (Direct. of Wor., pg. 114).

At the time of their baptism the parents or guardians are solemnly reminded of their "duty to train them up, by precept or example, in the true knowledge and fear of God according to the articles of the Christian faith and doctrine, as contained in the Old and New Testaments and in the symbols of the Church," that is, the Catechism, the Directory of Worship, the Hymn Book and the Constitution. They must "especially be reminded often of their baptismal vows and obligations, and be taught the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments; and finally they must be brought to the minister to be instructed in the Catechism, etc., etc." (Direct. of Wor. pg. 107.) A faithful discharge of these duties is incumbent upon the parents. The minister and pastor of the congregation is also under solemn obligation, as the guide of his people, to be diligent in enforcing by his own example, and by his personal teaching, all these parental obligations. When all these obligations are squarely met and faithfully discharged, in the fear of God and the love of Christ, there need be little fear as to the result. Results are with God, and we may be sure that the children, as a rule, will grow up in the Church, as nurtured in the Lord; and no sensational measures or extraordinary efforts will be needed to hold them in the Church. They will neither go back to the world nor wander like lost sheep from one church to another, or from one pasture to another. There are exceptions, indeed, but the rule still holds good.

This is the theory, and in former days was the practice of the Reformed Church.

But now we are confronted with another system as several sister Churches are. Why is this so?

Is it not because we have largely fallen away from the Scriptural and honored system of our fathers? Have we not been captured and misled by the noisy and showy methods of others, who belittle the divine character of the Church, regarding it only as a society, and its means of grace as badges and empty signs of blessings, which must be received independently of their use? Have we not been deceived by the blare of trumpets, the rapid progress and the growing numbers of those who could not endure the slow-going movements which characterized our system?

For a long time we withstood this outside pressure, but have now, to a large extent, given way to its influence, and as a result, we have lost our hold upon many of our children. They go to other churches, or no church, as the fancy takes them, or at best are held by a weak and unreliable tie.

We may add here with equal truth that all the Churches are experiencing a similar state of looseness among their young people, which requires the new methods now in use in order to hold them together. Thus the bond of church-fellowship must be supplemented and strengthened by a new pledge, binding them to the church through the mediation of the society.

Now if we inquire for the causes of such declension, we must go back to a former period in history, not perhaps, beyond the Reformation, but certainly to the beginnings of Protestantism. At that age the spirit of religious freedom was carried by some beyond its normal limits and landed them in infidelity and licentiousness. But leaving this extreme departure from the truth of religious freedom aside, we discern in the baptistic independency of that age a force, which unconsciously to its devotees has worked itself out to a conclusion which we now see and lament. And though this abnormal abuse of freedom was repudiated by Reformed and Lutheran peoples with emphasis, yet it has pertinaciously pressed itself forward till it has actually infected all branches of Protestantism with its virus. We may add here too that the rationalistic tendency of many of the higher critics has lent itself to the propagation of unchurchliness and has aided consciously or unconsciously in degrading the supernatural char-

acter of the divine ordinances. Hence we believe that the evils complained of are rooted in a bygone age; and though it may be said that they are the result of the spirit of the present age, this is only true because the present is the outgrowth of the past. Or, may we not say that these disintegrating elements have been evolved and exaggerated, as the conflict for religious freedom has been fought out? Possibly we might not go very far from the truth if we should call it the Anti-Christ of Protestantism. This may be regarded as a serious charge. But we may not forget that it is not the first time in history that the Church has been betrayed into serious heresy.

The particular thing to which we refer is the morbid independency which repudiates all authority, even that of the Bible itself, in those places which can not be interpreted to suit the system. This system, in one phase, is enslaved to a mode of baptism, yet it denies all divine efficacy in baptism, except in the case of the adult who submits to immersion, and in that case the grace of baptism is the fruit of faith; and even then baptism is only a useless appendage, added to the believer after his faith has saved him. Accordingly the right to this holy ordinance is denied to the infant children of Christian parents, because they are supposed to have no faith to give it efficacy. And on the same wrong principle, the whole educational system of religion is denounced as a relic of Romanism and an invention of the devil, while creeds are condemned as breeders of strife and schism.

According to this system, children of Christian parents from their infancy onward to their majority, are regarded as children of the devil, and left to the "uncovenanted mercies of God," until they can be arrested in their course of sin, and converted by special agencies invented for the purpose. The Scriptural doctrine that they are children of the covenant is repudiated as a popish error, and their baptism is intentionally omitted, on the plea that they cannot believe, and that therefore the divine ordinance is but an empty ceremony, carrying with it no promise and no grace. The divine covenant, it is alleged, does not include the children. They can not, therefore, enter into it until they are

old enough to do so by a conscious act of their own ; and so the covenant is degraded to the level of an agreement entered into by two parties, as if a man agrees to obey God's commands, on condition that He on His part will pay for the service. That God on His part made the covenant without the assistance of man, and included parents and their children together in its blessings, is a truth which is denied. And so, for this system, the covenant of God involves no act of grace for the Christian's child, until it is old enough to accept it by a conscious act of faith.

And then, that the child may not be biased in its choice, it must be permitted to grow up without any positive Christian training. From this standpoint the Church is only a society. Each congregation forms a church by itself. The members of it are united by a federal contract. Its strength and coherency depend, not so much on divine grace and ordinances, as on the will of the individuals who voluntarily unite with it. Thus the little children are left out in the cold to battle with the temptations of the world, without the safeguards which the covenant secures to their parents. They sustain no vital relation to the Church and have no interest in it. The Church, however, is not entirely oblivious to their interests. It is waiting till they are old enough to be saved ; and as soon as they are converted, and can show sufficient evidence of personal religious experience on the outside of the church, it is ready to receive them for safekeeping, and as a token of membership it bestows upon them the sign of immersion. No other sign is necessary, and no other is sufficient. Baptism has no connection with their regeneration, no relation to their independent experience, and nothing to do with their salvation. They must be saved first without baptism, and then baptism is vouchsafed after the approved mode, to mark them as the elect. This arraignment may be severe, but we believe it is true.

Children grown under such conditions have no relation to the Church, and naturally feel no interest in it. They are aliens from the commonwealth of Israel and strangers to the covenants

of promise. If they are afterwards so happy as to be saved, it seems to be accomplished in spite of the Church. But really there can be little wonder if they care little for the Church and can be only drawn into it by special efforts inaugurated for the purpose, in order apparently to make amends for past neglect.

The introduction of Methodism about a century and a-half ago, while it did a good practical work and has become a mighty power in the United States, nevertheless gave renewed emphasis to what we have denominated this unchurchly tendency. It indeed accomplished much by way of arousing people from the lethargy of a dead formalism. It held on to the use of sprinkling as a proper mode of baptism, without excluding immersion, which, all intelligent Christians ought to admit, is also a proper mode; and besides it preserved infant baptism as an ordinance of the Church. But unfortunately it fell in with the Baptist theory of the meaninglessness of the Scriptural Church ordinances, and made a conscious personal experience of conversion, the *summum bonum* of the Christian profession, thereby setting aside the efficacy and all the meaning of holy baptism as a grace-bearing ordinance of God. It is preserved merely as a sign or badge of regeneration, but its sacramental character, as a seal and as a means, in the proper use of which the Holy Ghost confers regenerating grace, is lost sight of or intentionally denied. In like manner the catechization of the youth was dispensed with. This movement soon became popular, probably because it did away the drudgery of Christian and Churchly education, and made it easy to get religion, whether one had any intelligent idea of Christian doctrines or not. In fact in many instances preachers denounced such education as a hindrance rather than a help to the practice of true godliness. So that baptized children who grew up under the influence of the educational system, and whose religious life was dominated and controlled from infancy by Christian principles, which were unfolded in the form of Christian practice, were supposed not to be converted, and however consistently they adorned their profession of faith in Christ, if they could not tell how, when and where they were converted, and thus show what was

denominated, by way of preëminence, a "Christian experience," they were supposed to be yet in the "gall of bitterness and in the bonds of iniquity." The work of the Holy Spirit in baptism counted for nothing. Catechization and a whole life of service in the Master's vineyard counted for nothing. But the "experience" of an hour or a day or a week was regarded as a better evidence of conversion and a surer passport at the gate of heaven. Thus was overlooked the *real experience* of doing the will of God, whereby one knows of the doctrine whether it be of God, and personal feeling became the test of religion.

The popularity of the new measures enabled their advocates to make inroads among the Churches whose educational systems were thought to have brought them into a state of dead formalism, and many "converts" from "formalism" to a "genuine experience" were gathered in. Here and there preachers in these churches caught the enthusiasm and introduced the new methods into their congregations, and in proportion to the success of these measures, catechization was dropped, baptism lost its meaning and was to some extent neglected, and the children were suffered to grow up in ignorance of Christian doctrines and duties, for want of parental training; and Reformed and Lutheran congregations, while retaining their old names, became practically Methodist. The baptized children grew up and were treated exactly like the unbaptized, and could only be received into the covenant after having passed the crisis of conversion, through which the baptized and unbaptized alike must pass in order to get religion. Thus baptism, Christian training and confirmation have lost all significance. Church membership by virtue of infant baptism was ignored. God's special promise to the children in the *Christian family*, when consecrated to Him in His own appointed way, is thus entirely ignored, and such children are treated as if they were heathen or infidel. "The promise to you and your children." Ministers who were converted to this system tried for a while to combine the two methods, with the result that eventually the new system prevailed. But even in some instances where catechization is still continued they are not



expected to receive the rite of confirmation until they are converted at a special series of meetings held for the purpose.

As a consequence of this falling away into such methods the pastor forgets to urge parents to train their children in the doctrines and duties of religion, and they are of course neglected. The time of life when children are most impressible and most susceptible to religious influences passes away without proper improvement. Their minds and hearts, like an uncultivated garden, which becomes infected with noxious weeds, are filled with unchurchly and irreligious ideas and emotions. If after years of such want of Christian training they are converted, it requires all the rest of their lives, even with the help of the Spirit and grace of God, to root out and destroy these hurtful influences.

Is it any wonder that the Church loses its hold on the children?

Still, happily, they are not wholly neglected. They must have some kind of a Christian education in all the Churches. The Sunday-school is employed, not to supplement home training, but as far as possible to supply the want of it. It takes the responsibility of teaching the Bible a half-hour on Sunday, to off-set the evil effects of parental neglect and the bad influences to which the child is subjected for the rest of the week. It is better to get that much religious instruction than none at all. Blessed are the officers and teachers in our Sunday-schools who have the grace and the good disposition to give their time and attention to this noble work. God will reward them for it, however little fruit of their labor they may be permitted to see in this world. Many are won and reclaimed for the Church through their instrumentality, but many others soon get too old for the Sunday-school, and go out to battle with the world at such great disadvantage that they are overcome by temptations and are lost. But even if they are fortunate enough to be reclaimed, there is no special bond by which they are held loyally to their Church. They have imbibed the idea that "one Church is as good as another," and it is easy to make a transition to some other Church or to the world, according to their fancy. When this state of affairs comes to

be recognized and to some extent comprehended, as it has already done, some means must be employed to hold them.

Now to keep any one out of mischief it is best to keep him employed. The best thing for young church members is to have something to do for Christ and the Church. But as many of our young people scarcely know what they can do for want of previous training, we have hit upon the plan of organizing them into societies in which each can be assigned to some duty, and thus find something to do "for Christ and the Church." Here some may receive some compensation for lack of proper training in childhood, while those who enjoyed better advantages can employ their gifts for further advancement in the divine life. Hence we may say that the Sunday-school and the Young People's Societies are educational and deserve to be aided and encouraged in their good work. Many have doubtless been saved through their instrumentality, and others have been kept loyal to their Church, who otherwise might have drifted away from one Church to another, having no permanent ecclesiastical home, or else out into the world and to perdition.

But even here positive Christian training is often neglected. The motto is "for Christ and the Church." But it is adopted in a general way. To some the Church is a sort of symbol for religion, and not a living organism composed of living congregations, of living families, of living individuals, all bound together by a living union with the person of Christ.

With this view of the Church the society seems to have the first claim on its members, and the congregation, of which it forms a part, is felt to be secondary. Here again the sacraments are ignored as of small account, and the personal testimony which each offers in the public meeting becomes the article of a standing or falling Christian life. With such testimony we have no fault to find. But we plead for pastors and consistories to guide the young people in their endeavors, and keep them by precept and example in touch with the Church and its ordinances. Their pledge, which is a good one, may be regarded as a partial explanation of the obligation which every member assumed at

his confirmation. The dangers to which these societies are exposed can be avoided if ministers and consistories will but take the oversight of the societies and direct their work in the proper channels. As matters now stand it is evident that in many congregations the Christian Endeavor, or some other society, has become a necessity. It has come to stay. It has done a great deal of good, not so much in its great conventions, as by its practical work in the individual congregations. In this way it can accomplish a great amount of good, especially when it reaches down to lift up the children of the Church and to lend a helping hand in training them for Christ and the Church.

In this way some compensation can be made for the sad neglect which these children suffer at home. And in this way the minister may find a means of gaining an influence over the children whom he fails to bring into the Catechetical class. A judicious control of the Junior Society will enable him to instruct its members in the doctrines of the Church, which under existing circumstances he has no other opportunity to do.

But at the same time that he fosters and leads his societies and inculcates true churchly principles, he cannot excuse himself from the duty of instructing parents in relation to their duties to their children. He must insist on their bringing their infants to him to receive the rite of holy baptism. He must urge them to train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord and bring them at the proper age to the pastor for Catechetical instruction, where they can be prepared for confirmation. If the children of the Reformed Church are to remain loyal to its customs and practices they must be properly nurtured in its churchly principles and as a part of the Christian family. Otherwise, like many others they will say, "One church is as good as another," which usually means to those who say it, that no Church is of much account. For whenever people resort to that excuse for forsaking their own Church for another, their life show sthat they have little or no loyalty to any Church.

While we feel constrained to believe that all Evangelical Churches are loyal to Christ and are doing a blessed work for

Him, yet we can not regard with indifference that independent spirit which justifies itself in its carelessness for its own Church by claiming an equal love for all. Every denomination is bound, in self-defense and for the sake of Christ, to inculcate a love for its own Church in every child.

Where this is done, and especially where the Reformed Church brings up its children in full harmony with its educational system, they usually feel under special obligations to their own denomination at large, and to their own congregation in particular, and at the same time they are liberal in their views of other sister Churches. But they will devote themselves to the interest and prosperity of their own Church in preference to all others.

What we need in the Reformed Church is not a repristination of former practices to the exclusion of all modern methods of Christian work, many of which have proven themselves valuable and helpful, but a simple return to a right apprehension and use of the divinely appointed means of grace. Infant baptism should everywhere be insisted on as a real institution of grace, as a means through which the Holy Spirit communicates the grace it represents, and as a fundamental article of our Christian faith. The child should then be treated as a child of God, as a member of the Church, a partaker of the covenant of grace, a citizen of the kingdom of grace, born into the kingdom by water and the Spirit.

Then let the parents be made fully to understand that Christ, through this holy ordinance, has received it, released it from sin, according to their prayer, and that He will sanctify it with the Holy Ghost and give it the kingdom of heaven and eternal life, according to His own promise, and that they are to keep and train it, not as a child of the world, or of Satan, but as it is in truth, a child of God, in the Christian family a true member of the household of faith, and under solemn vows and obligations to live an obedient life. Thus he will be taught to honor his profession by a holy life and conversation, realizing that his citizenship is in heaven, to the glory of God and the salvation of his soul. (Direct. of Worship, page 107.)

We are not forgetful of the fact that many children baptized in infancy disappoint the hopes of their parents, fail of the grace of God and grow up in sin. But this sad circumstance argues nothing against the efficacy of the sacrament or the Divine character of the Church, but is rather a misapprehension of the sacrament and a wrong conception of the Church. Faith in the sacrament sometimes degenerates into the superstition that baptism has an *ex opere operato*, or magic power inherent in itself, which is able to save the soul. In that case the child may be taught to rest in baptism as a sure pledge and seal of salvation without his own coöperation.

Or, fearing the fatal consequences of such error, there may be a falling away to the opposite extreme, in which baptism is robbed of all gracious contents. Which of these heresies is the worse we do not undertake to decide. But we feel quite confident that a child brought up under the influence of either extreme will at least suffer the consequence in after life if he is not led to a false trust on the one hand or infidelity on the other. It will be easy to see in either case that the object of holy baptism is defeated. In the one case God is supposed to save the subject of baptism without His own coöperation. In the other case God's part in the sacrament is practically denied, and some other means must be resorted to, to bring the person to Christ.

But when it is understood that God communicates through baptism His regenerating grace for the use of His child; and he is then taught by precept and example the duty of rightly using that grace, and of a participation in the divine ordinances of the Church, and growing up in the exercise of a godly life, we have God's promise for it that He will not depart from the path of rectitude. And when, under such influences, the child has reached the age of accountability he will be held to his Church, and through it to his Saviour, by a bond which can not be broken. And it is the opinion of the writer of this paper that if the Churches would return to this educational and Scriptural system, and carry it out faithfully, modified, perhaps, to suit the necessities of the times, the cry that "the Church is losing its hold on

the children " would cease. The blessings peculiarly vouchsafed to the Christian family, and through it to individual members, would be more highly appreciated and the children would enjoy its sanctifying influence, and be led to love and honor the faith of their parents, and cling to their Church with child-like confidence and unwavering faith.

## V.

# THE RELATION OF THE CLASSES IN SOCIETY AND WHAT IS DUE FROM EACH TO THE OTHER.

BY REV. J. W. LOVE, D. D.

We all profess to be patriots. We all believe we have the welfare of our country at heart. As professed Christians we go still further and profess to be lovers of mankind. Our holy Christianity requires that we love our neighbors as ourselves, and by our neighbors we usually understand our fellow men of every class and condition in life.

But what, after all, is patriotism? We say it is love of one's country, its institutions, its laws, its government and all that pertains to it. Patriotism is a high sounding word, and we all delight to ring the changes upon it and regard it as a great civic and national virtue, and so it is.

Do we, however, understand the full meaning of patriotism? I fear not. Surely it means more than loving the land on which we live and the kind of government of which we are citizens or subjects. True patriotism means, in its last analysis, loving our neighbor as ourselves. In a republic like ours the condition of the country, its government, whether it be municipal, State or National, its institutions and laws are only the exponents of the condition of the people in their relation to each other. Patriotism must, therefore, find its fullest meaning in the study and treatment of the classes in society towards each other.

That there are classes in society we all know. Ever since the multiplication of the human family there has been division into classes. There will always be the poor and the rich, the ignorant and the intelligent, the humble and the exalted.

There must also of necessity be classification according to occupation, profession and natural capability. All men are not

alike fitted for any one class or position in life. God has ordained that there should be a great variety of talent, and that each one should use his talent for the benefit of himself and of his fellow men. "Like birds of a feather, men and women naturally flock together" in classes, according to taste, culture, occupation, and so on. This we find true in experience and observation.

Now, unfortunately, because of the sin and selfishness in man the classes have come to be antagonistic to each other.

Those who by natural ability or accident acquire wealth are naturally prone to undue exaltation and to use the power that wealth gives to oppress the poor, and to deprive those unable to protect themselves of God-given rights and of proper enjoyment of life.

In our day the classes controlling the larger proportion of the wealth of the country have combined to enrich themselves still more at the expense of the masses. The love of money, or the possession of property, whether for legitimate purposes or for the mere sake of possessing it, is to-day the controlling passion of many in their treatment of each other.

Conscience, in getting money or property, it would seem, in the case of most business men, is asleep, or so blunted and stifled that it scarcely disturbs the comfort at all of a large proportion of those who are daily growing richer from preying upon the necessities of their fellow men. What individuals of some honor and sense of justice would hesitate to do singly they combine to do as corporations and trusts. Take, for example, the Standard Oil Trust as an illustration.

That giant monopoly has the power and uses it to make those who need kerosene oil pay tribute to them as they choose to exact it. We all know how a few wealthy men, by combining, control the trade in meats to enrich themselves at the expense of all who eat meat and even of those who raise the meat consumed, and also how, by combination, they can compel to work, at a low price, those whom they employ to kill, dress and cure the animal food of the country. In fact, about all the necessities of life, and the



labor that produces them are so manipulated by combinations and trusts that the general public is helplessly at their mercy and robbed at will. That this is actually the state of the case can not be successfully denied. As a natural result, it has been truthfully said, the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer year by year. Where this condition of things will end, if there is not a radical reform, God only knows.

Chauncey M. Depew, himself one of the wealthy men of the country, has made the bold statement that there are "fifty men who have it in their power to stop every wheel of trade and commerce within twenty-four hours. They can paralyze the whole country, for they control the circulation of the currency and create a panic whenever they will." That is to say 65,000,000 of people in these United States are absolutely at the mercy, financially, of a coterie of fifty millionaires and multi-millionaires. How were these millions accumulated?

In the main, they are the product of the sweat and toil of the laboring masses. By shrewd manipulation, by buying unjust legislation and by taking advantage of circumstances, or of the necessities of the wage earner, employer combines have withheld from him his just proportion of the wealth he produced, and so increased their profits as to accumulate their vast possessions. We are not inveighing against the accumulation and possession of wealth. It is a natural-born right each one has to obtain, in an honorable and just way, the legitimate product of his skill, enterprise and industry, but we deny the right of any man, or any set of men, to take advantage of the necessities or the ignorance of their fellow men to rob them of honest earnings. It is not brotherly, it is not patriotic, it is not just; and still less is it Christian. Though, as already intimated, we may divide society up into a large number of classes, yet practically we have but two classes, the employer and the employed, including, of course, those dependent upon both these classes, as women, children and the helpless adult sick or infirm. The entire population of any country will be embraced in this classification. We may say there is a necessity for employer and employee. There always

have been and always will be those who serve and those who are served. This has been divinely ordained. The service, however, must not all be on one side. Both classes have their legitimate sphere in serving each other—their natural rights—and when either attempts to take advantage of, or impose upon, the other there is antagonism and hatred engendered.

It is not asserted that all wealthy employers *do* wrong the employed, for there are many noble exceptions—men of honor, and whose desire it is to treat their employees fairly—but, as a rule, such is the selfishness of human nature that corporations, and especially secret combines, study and plan to secure service at the lowest possible remuneration.

They make the price of a day's toil as low as the necessities of the employed will allow; they put them under the surveillance of overseers or foremen, many of whom are harsh in their manner and exacting, to get out of the laborer the most possible for the combine. The cruelties that are thus practiced upon men and women in manufactories, sweat shops, and by corporations employing large numbers of people, are a disgrace to our civilization. Add to this the wrong done by withholding just payment for service rendered, and is it any wonder that the employed cry out against their employers and at times resort to unlawful means of redress?

Patriotism is fostered and developed by laws and institutions that protect *all* classes against wrong and oppression. When government fails to do this there is, to say the least, a cooling of love for country and its institutions on the part of those not so protected.

It is sometimes said that men can refuse to work for employers that wrong and oppress them. That is true, in a sense, and yet it is not true when men and their families are in actual need of the necessities of life. They can starve, of course, or they can beg and steal for a living, as thousands do, but of the evils presented many prefer the lesser, which to their mind is to work for less than comfortable living wages. They are compelled to do this or something worse. This ought not to be, and need not be.

There is enough of provision and of wealth in the country to afford all our people a comfortable living. There is enough of mental ability to plan for human welfare and utilize the country's resources so as to afford all who desire comfort the opportunity to obtain it. There may be and there are large numbers of people who are naturally indolent and vicious, and who do not want honest employment even with fair remuneration. There are those among the poorer classes and the wage earners who are leeches upon the body politic and who would suck the life blood out of their fellow members of society, whether rich or poor. They are no respecters of persons. If they can manage to eke out a mere living by fair means or foul it is all they care for. They would sooner beg than work; and many of them would as soon steal as not, if they can avoid punishment. We should have profound sympathy for even this class of people. We should seek to educate them to a better view of life. We owe it to them to help them, if possible, to a higher ambition in life.

Perhaps it has been bred and born in them to be what they are. Perhaps it is owing to their environment or surroundings that they are what they are. We must not blame them too severely. If we had been born of such parentage or had lived among these unfortunate people from childhood and youth, without opportunity to know or do better, probably we would be no better than they. People born and raised in the slums, or to indolence and theft, can hardly be expected to be industrious and honest. We all show our blood and raising to a greater or less extent. It must also be admitted that among the middle classes and among the wealthy there are many idlers and vicious people. For them there is far far less excuse. They have the opportunity of knowing better. But the the wage earners, the producers of wealth, the farmers, the employees in factories and manufactories of all kinds, those who render service of every kind, are often soured in their nature and driven to retaliation upon employers, by unjust treatment.

It is said that "a good employer makes a good employee," and that is generally true. It is also just as true that employers who

have little or no respect for the rights or comfort of the employed are the cause of the discontent that exists and of the bitterness there often is toward capitalists who employ labor.

Men will naturally writhe under what they believe to be injustice and render as little service as they must to those who treat them unfairly. It would be easy to show that there is a great deal of wrong in society, which accounts both for the unrest and the distress there is abroad in the land. It requires no demonstration to prove that we are not loving our neighbor as ourselves; that, as said before, the classes, especially the employer and the employed, are in more or less antagonism. We have neither space nor inclination to inquire who is to blame for this state of things. Indeed, it would hardly be profitable even to know who is at fault, for it would likely lead to crimination and recrimination that would only be hurtful rather than beneficial. It is enough to know that there ought to be, and that there may be, a very much better condition of society than we have now.

The fact that there has been a great deal of wrong and needless antagonism between the classes is no reason why this unfortunate state should continue indefinitely. It would be visionary, however, to expect that as long as human nature is sinful and selfish we can have a perfect state of good will and love between the classes. It would be just as visionary to expect that all people can be put upon an equality as regards intelligence, social standing, possessions and so forth. It is morally certain that there will be these differences, to a greater or less extent, even in heaven. God never made two people exactly alike, and no two ever will be alike in all respects. But there can be no doubt that the condition of society here on earth may be very much improved. We may have a very much better country than we have as to its material prosperity, its social status, its moral improvement, its religious well-being. There are forces available to the masses that may and ought to be utilized for the improvement of the classes.

What are they? We all know that there are a great many theories proposed. There has been a very correct diagnosis of

the disease in the body politic. The doctors are generally agreed as to what is the matter. There has not, however, been such general agreement as to the cure. Some have advocated communism—holding all things in common. That has been tried to a limited extent and found wanting. Others say paternalism—the government owning and directing everything—is the remedy. This seems impractical. Still others tell us socialism would cure all the evils now existing. If socialism, as defined by Dr. J. E. Scott, is meant we give it right of way. He says: "Socialism is essentially coöperation in production, and equitable distribution, or, ethically expressed, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'"

Of course, that is a sovereign remedy, but the trouble is to get all men to take it. The dose is very pleasant to the palate, but unfortunately the stubborn will is in the way of swallowing it. When individual interests seem to be affected by loving our neighbor as ourselves we are still prone to refuse doing so, though we know it is right to do so. *Christian* socialism would correct all wrongs in man's relation to property and to his fellow man. It would be the exercise of justice and love that works no ill to any one of any class or condition in life. It is *applied Christianity* in its purity. Of late years hundreds of able articles have appeared in our leading magazines on this subject of socialism. There is now a respectable library of books treating upon it in all its phases. With much of what has been written, all having a sense of justice and being lovers of the race, whether Christian or not, agree. We are not, however, all agreed as to the State owning all the land, managing railroads, telegraphs and public enterprises in general, and with doing away with all competition. There is undoubtedly much force in the argument made by socialists, but there are many difficulties yet in the way of putting socialistic theories into practice. What proportion of Christian and patriotic people will yet endorse what is commonly understood by socialism it is impossible to predict. But if we confine the definition to that of Dr. Scott just quoted there ought to be no difficulty in accepting it, as both right and practicable.

It is in the nature of things that there should be coöperation in production. Capital and labor both may, and do now combine to produce the necessities and comforts of life, as well as an increase of wealth. There has not been, however, an equitable distribution of the joint products of capital and labor. Of late years especially, the capitalist seems to be getting more than his just share, because he is in a position to demand it and take it, with or without the consent of labor. This is where the wrong comes in. Now *Christian* socialism would give to every man his equitable share of what he or his capital earns, but no more and no less. Is this practicable? Is the force at hand to compel the exercise of this justice and love as over against human selfishness and corporate greed? We believe it is.

1st. *This force is found in Christian Education.* In this the Church must lead. Let it be instilled into the hearts of the young; let it be made to ring in the heads and hearts of the adult population, that there is now great injustice and wrong in the present system of combines and trusts; that is, of oppression and robbery of the wage earner. Education along these lines will crystallize into a consensus of public opinion that will compel a more equitable distribution of the products of labor and capital.

2d. When the public have been brought to see and think right upon this question, *we shall have legislation for the protection of labor and capital* that will be effective in bringing about a better state of things than we have now.

It is not meant, of course, that we can legislate honor, justice or fraternal love into society; but we certainly can protect society by law from the greed of employers as well as protect capital from being wronged by labor.

It is asserted, and probably with truth, that heretofore legislation has been prevailing in the interest of capital; that our laws, National and State, favor the rich and do not sufficiently protect the poor. It is well known that corporations are able to purchase all the legislation they want, and, as a rule, are not slow to do it. Even city franchises are usually bought without regard

to the public interest, and the money to pay the purchase price afterwards filched from the pockets of the people. Labor is rightfully demanding more protection from the State than has hitherto been given. Perhaps the reason why labor has not received as much consideration as it is entitled to by Congress and State Legislatures is that it has not had a fair representation in the halls of Congress and of State Legislatures. For example, in the present Congress of 536 members in the House of Representatives and 88 in the Senate—624 in all—there are only 33 who represent the labor class, or four-fifths of the population, while there are 345 lawyers—more than one-half—and 246 journalists, merchants, manufacturers, bankers and public officials, all of whom represent capital to a greater or less extent, but only one-fifth of the population. I presume the same disproportion of labor interests is found in our State Legislatures. How can labor expect its claims to be properly cared for with less than one-twentieth of a representation in the law making power?

Now, in view of all this it would seem to be the duty of the wage earners of the country, from patriotic as well as self-protection considerations, to ask for and insist on a much larger representation in the law-making bodies of the country. They have it in their power, by reason of being the larger number, to nominate and elect those in sympathy with them, and they owe it to the country and to themselves to do it. Labor organizations for the purpose of considering and acting in concert upon questions relating to the welfare of society, so largely made up of this class, are a move in the right direction. Of course, there are the dangers to labor as well as capital of being led by demagogues, of making arbitrary demands, and of legislating for selfish, partisan ends; but these dangers may be avoided by proper care, and the general welfare of society be promoted by labor movements wisely directed.

*But, again, labor and capital, or the classes generally, may and should unite in harmonious action to secure better legislation on many questions vitally affecting the interests of all. Take for instance the question of competition in any legitimate business.*



Socialism would abolish all competition and argues that it would be better for all classes to do so. That *may be* an extreme view. All of us are not prepared to accept the theory that the State could manage well the details of all business. *Christian socialism*, however, would regulate competition, so that no injustice be done to honest business men. Under our present competitive system there is a vast deal of robbery and deception practiced, even by so-called honorable business men. For example: A and B are retail grocers on opposite corners of the street. A is selfish enough to want more than his proportion of the trade of the community and to try to induce as many of B's customers as possible to trade with him. To win them over to his store, he puts down the price of sugar, we will say, to cost. B to protect his trade does likewise. A is determined to beat his competitor and so puts sugar down below cost. But, of course, he cannot do business at a loss very long. He now resorts to short weights, adulteration, inferior quality or making up the loss in some secret tricky way. B is forced to do the same, and so competition becomes not only a means of robbing the public, but also a cut-throat process of the trade. Finally one or the other, or both grocers, are compelled to quit business or go into bankruptcy. Often the wholesaler is cheated out of what is honestly due him. This is frequently the result of competition in most of the retail trade which supplies our homes with the necessities of life. Competition in the wholesale trade has *driven* capital into combines and trusts, enabling the few to control the entire trade in nearly all staple articles of consumption. It is now possible for the combine or trust to put up the price of the necessities of life, and it is usually done. Thus millions are made, as in the case of the sugar trust, oil trust and so on, which go into the pockets of the few who have "a corner" on these articles in common use. Even the retailer, as well as the masses, are now at the mercy of such combinations. Would it then in any way be a curtailment of liberty for State Legislatures to enact more efficient laws protecting the public from this tremendous financial power in the hands of the few? As a matter of



fact, we now have laws in all States fixing the price for the use of capital in money, or the maximum rate of interest it shall bring. In our municipalities we regulate the price of hack hire, street car fare, the price of gas and water by law ; in the State we regulate in part the rates of freight and passengers by rail, etc. Would it not be the same in principle to extend such law so as to fix at least a maximum per cent. of profit on all staple articles of food, clothing, fuel, and the investment in tenements for shelter? Might not the same principle be extended still farther to regulate the price of different kinds of labor, and mechanical and professional employments? Of course, there would be a difference of opinion and difficulty in fixing upon prices of staple articles, rates of investments, what should be paid for labor, and so forth, as there is in a schedule of tariff rates fixed by Congress, but there seems to be no reason why we may not approximate more nearly to what is just and right by legal enactment, without abridging personal liberty or jeopardizing the liberty of the whole people.

It would require wise statesmanship to formulate state and interstate laws on this matter of production and cost, but certainly there is enough of talent in this country to meet the demand upon us, if it is admitted that such legislation would not encroach upon liberty or personal rights. It is believed that when the greater good of the whole people is involved there can be no wrong to the few.

Some have held the plausible view that the law of supply and demand will regulate and adjust the prices of all commodities necessary for comfort of life, and the price of labor. The argument is fallacious, as is at once apparent when we remember that a few men have it in their power to control even the supply. Besides, it is not Christian or just even when there is a scarcity of any necessary article of comfort to run the price up beyond the means of the masses to purchase it, or even to compel men to pay an exorbitant price, out of all proportion to cost of its production.

In the matter of the actual necessities of comfortable existence

it is a plain abuse of power for one man or any combination to extort unreasonable prices for what they may be able to hold or control. It should be made a crime to do so, as it was under the Jewish dispensation, and as it really is in the teachings of Christ. It is in plainest conflict with the command to "love thy neighbor as thyself." No Christian can, for a moment, justify taking advantage of the necessity of his neighbor to rob him thus by taking more than any article is really worth or ought bring in all fairness to all concerned.

That this sort of ethics is largely practiced by professing Christians is well known, but we all know also, or ought to know, that it is not the ethics of Old or New Testament Scriptures. It is the ethics of the robber who would come into your house when you are asleep, or overpower you when awake just because he can possess himself of what rightfully belongs to you. Talk as we will about the influence of Christianity or of the Christian religion, the fact stares us in the face that many professed Christians, occupying high and low places in the Church do take shameful advantages of their fellow men in business relations. The world sees this and judges of Christianity by its professed representatives, and then concludes that Christians are as selfish and wicked as those making no profession of religion. As long as there is sin and selfishness in the human heart, we need, in addition to moral or ethical restraints, the restraint of protection of law. We must as far as possible remove the temptation to rob each other by the present competitive system in business practice. As regards the price of labor, our labor unions have tried to take the law into their own hands in regulating it, and the number of hours they should serve for a specific price. They were compelled to do it or submit to ruinous competition among craftsmen of the same class. But they have not been able to compel all labor, even in their own calling to join in with them, and hence non-union men can still underbid them, and this competition among themselves often takes the very bread out of the mouths of many by taking from them the employment necessary to secure it. Employers naturally take advantage of the

situation and give the preference to the cheaper labor. Then as a further protection union men resort to strikes, and an open fight ensues between union and non-union labor. Thus labor is arrayed against labor. Hence, to avoid all such evil and injury to employer and employee, it would seem to be just and right to have laws protecting all from human selfishness and corporate greed by fixing the price of labor and hours of service, as is done in part by United States law. This would remove the temptation also for trade unions to extort from their employers as is sometimes done. Of course, there would still remain the competition as to the quality of the service rendered. But the effect would be that the employer would get better service, and the employed would get the maximum of what the law fixed and would be better satisfied.

Then, too, under this system, it would be possible to establish profit sharing coöperative plants for the carrying on of all kinds of business—as we have now to a limited extent—by which employer and employee would each get a due proportion of the combined product of labor and capital. Thus, if one man, or any number of men desired to establish a manufactory, let there be so much per cent. of earnings allowed on the capital invested; so much for the management; so much for labor of operatives, and then all profit above that, at a specified time, be divided pro rata to proprietors and those producing it according to service rendered. There are not a few—if I mistake not, fully one hundred—of these profit-sharing establishments in the United States. Generally the plan has been found to work well.

Why, it may again be asked, could not such plants be encouraged and protected by law? It is entirely practicable to do so. It would be simple justice and in direct line with the duty of loving our neighbor as ourself to do it.

Another important phase of this general subject is how to provide for the dependent poor and those who, though able-bodied, seem unable and in many cases unwilling to provide for themselves.

It is well known that there is the enormous number of over a

million tramps in this country; statistics, apparently reliable, put the number at 1,500,000. These wandering homeless people tell us they can't get employment. If they could they would probably glut the labor market, as it now is. Besides tramps, there are other millions out of work, and many of them anxious to get work at any price that will keep soul and body together. Are not *all* these our neighbors, and is not the duty of patriotism and the command of Christ to love them as ourselves? What shall we do for them? This ought not be a question difficult to answer.

The county now provides for its indigent and helpless citizens. In connection with many county almshouses there are farms where those able to work are required to earn their living by service on the farm or in the house. Why could not industrial homes be provided by law, as are colleges and other State institutions?

It would not cost as much to do this as it now does to feed the army of idlers that have to be fed anyhow by the public.

In most of our counties, in the West especially, there are large tracts of good land practically not utilized. Suppose each county would buy and set apart, say a section of land for an industrial farm and home, where, as the need would develop, the products of the county could be raised, and where various mechanical employments could be carried on. Suppose, then, that every able-bodied man and woman in the county out of work, and unable to find employment to earn a living, be allowed to go to such industrial home, where they could earn a living, at such work as they could do. Such a home might not only be made self-supporting, but pay the inmates moderate wages for services rendered. That would not only rid us of the tramp nuisance, but it would be of great benefit to those who are now strolling around seeking what they may devour. It would be a great benefit to society in general. Let there be a law also, that if any will not go to such industrial home and work for a living, "neither shall they eat" at public expense. Such (really benevolent) institutions might be established in all the counties of the State and of the United

States. Benevolent hearted people could not put money to better use than voluntarily to give largely to establish and endow such homes.

*Once more: What can we do for our neighbors in the filthy slum quarters of our cities?* That ought not to be a hard question to answer. It has been answered in part in some of our large eastern cities and in some of the cities of Europe. The plan adopted, and that has worked well, is for men of means to provide clean, comfortable tenements, built in plain style, with all proper sanitary arrangements in the suburbs of cities, to be rented at low rates, sufficient only to pay a reasonable interest on the investment and keep up wear and tear.

This can easily be done everywhere as a business and philanthropic enterprise. It would be done if municipal governments would prohibit landlords or owners of tenements from renting tumble-down shanties, or rookeries where human beings are herded together like cattle, irrespective of sanitary considerations. We all know that the death rate of the slums, where these crowded tenements are found, is from 50 to 100 per cent. larger than in the respectable portions of the city. We all know that these localities are breeding places of pestilence, of degradation and of vice. The city owes it to society, to these poor victims of the slums and to humanity to abolish the slums entirely from all her precincts. There ought not to be, there need not be, any slum quarters. But, you ask, what will you do with people who are already degraded, and who do not want to be helped to better living? The answer is, we can put them in better surroundings in spite of themselves and of their low instincts or desires. Public baths could be provided, and it could be made punishable by law for children or adults to appear in a filthy condition on the street or live in filth at home. Schools could be established for the children of all and attending them be made compulsory, as it is in many places. Public halls and places of proper entertainment could be provided and be made self-supporting.

All this and much more could be done by the Christian, moral and intelligent public for our poorer neighbors, without increasing

our taxes and with great benefit to all. They, the poor and dependent classes, would then be able to serve us in return, as they cannot do now. We and they would be the gainers. Men of wealth, instead of hoarding it in banks, or investing in bonds and stocks, could find much more profitable use for money by investing in philanthropic enterprises in the way suggested.

They would also feel then that they and their money are of some account; that they live to a purpose and are in some measure obeying the divine injunction. Has not the Great Creator of us all ordained that we and our fellow men, our neighbors, should enjoy the good things of life, be happy and comfortable even in our earthly state? Ought not those of us who are the more fortunate in our relations of life be concerned for and try to be helpful to our less fortunate fellow mortals? Surely life is not worth living except as we live for others as well as ourselves. We are not commanded to love our neighbors *more than*, but *as*, ourselves. That means to do unto them as we would have them do unto us, if our circumstances were the same as theirs. It is both reasonable and right that we should all consider each other's welfare and labor for it.

Things have come to that pass in society that something must be done for the betterment of the laboring and dependent classes, or there will be outright rebellion and possible revolution by violence. There is too much unrest and under-the-surface commotion for the indefinite continuance of the strained relations now existing between the classes. The Lord Jesus Christ is the greatest friend the poor or the rich have ever had, and His gospel is the only sovereign remedy for the cure of selfishness and evil in general. But the gospel *needs to be applied*. What has been stated is the gospel of humanity to humanity in a nut-shell. It isn't, by any means, all of the truth, nor even the chief part of the divine message to man, as related to his higher spiritual nature, but, as I have tried to show, it is the *gospel as related to the welfare of each other in our earthly relations*.

Our professedly Christian people must lead in applying this gospel, if it is to bless mankind. The Church has done much,

but scarcely a tithe of what may and must yet be done for the temporal condition of humanity. We need, therefore, to wake up to a sense of duty, or the blood of our brother will cry out against us, and the Divine hand will use the wronged and neglected poor to chastise us as we deserve.

It is frequently charged that the laboring masses are being estranged from the Churches, that they and their families are so made to feel the oppression of capital as to lose faith in the profession of Christian capitalists who occupy prominent places in most of our churches. The wage-earner, therefore, turns away in disgust. There is undoubtedly much truth in the charge. But explain it as we may, the fact remains that in our large cities a large proportion of what are called "tin bucket men" and their families do not attend church services.

While we can't remove prejudice or feeling by argument, nor make people feel at home in uncongenial surroundings, yet prejudice and feeling can be allayed and uncongenial surroundings made congenial to an extent, at least. Capital should be willing to recognize worth where there is worth, and Christians of all classes should certainly cultivate more Christian love for each other than is at present manifest in most quarters. It may be emphasized, therefore, that patriotism demands that we study and plan for the interests of all classes; and Christianity, to be accepted by the masses as the panacea for all wrongs in society, *must be applied* to the every-day affairs of life. It is only thus that people estranged from the Church can be won back and benefited by its teaching. O that our eyes may be opened to see, and that our hearts may be moved to act for the betterment, the comfort and the safety of the whole people—the classes and the masses—in every condition of life.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

## VI.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT, FROM THE TIME OF CHRIST UNTIL THE YEAR 730, OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

BY REV. CHARLES E. CORWIN.

**"Christianity is not only the religion of redemption, inasmuch as it realizes the idea of the divine and the human in the person of the God-man, but also the religion of absolute reconciliation."—Baur.**

The ideas of redemption and atonement are to be distinguished by referring redemption to the idea of sin and atonement to the ideal of guilt. Redemption is deliverance from the power of sin, while atonement is deliverance from the guilt of sin. In the development of Soteriology the two ideas have been frequently confused, especially in the earlier periods of the history of the Church.

All life is from God. Whatever, therefore, contains a living principle is in some sense at least a revelation from Him. Christianity differs from all other religious systems in that it possesses such a living germ which remains the same in all circumstances, proving its vitality by changing its outward form to correspond to its environment, while the essence of its being remains unchanged. Other systems grow by accretions from without or are painfully and artfully elaborated from the minds of men. Christianity, like the grain of mustard seed, grows by its own energy, intensively outward.

The manifestation of God to man through the person of Jesus Christ is the germ from which all true Christianity is developed. In this revelation, as found in the teachings of Christ himself, and as developed in the apostolic epistles, is the vital principle which fashions every doctrine of a true Christianity. If, therefore, it can be shown that any doctrinal development is a logical



result of the teachings of Christ and His apostles, although it may not be expressed in definite terms in the New Testament, it properly takes its place as the expression of the Kingdom of God advancing among men, even as the branches of the oak, not seen in the acorn, are a proper and logical expression of its hidden life. Whatever, then, is thus developed from Christ is orthodox; whatever is not so developed is heresy.

Among the Jews of Christ's day there were vague ideas of an atonement made for the forgiveness of sin. Philo represents the thought of the Alexandrian school when he teaches that Israel, as the people of God, by their service, perform a sacrifice for the whole world. The High Priest on the day of atonement represents not only Israel, but all other nations before God, and even brings the whole universe into relation with the Infinite.

John the Baptist stands on the border line between the Old Testament and the New. His words, indefinite as they are, contain the first reference to the atonement in the New Testament, an echo of Isaiah's watch cry. "Behold," he says, "the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world." Such expressions, however, are only prophetic of the great doctrine of redemption, peculiar to Christianity, a doctrine which derives its life from the words and work of the Lord Jesus Christ. True it is that he did not in general openly proclaim it, for it could not be properly received until after the crucifixion was made its historical basis. He does distinctly imply it, however, when He teaches that He Himself has come to fulfil the law for men. His work and teaching emphasize two things, the dreadful character of sin and God's hatred of it, and second, God's love and compassion for sinner.

That justice and mercy are to be reconciled is implied, but for the most part unexpressed. To Nicodemus He shows that God expresses His love to the world by the gift of His Son, and this gift is somehow connected with the world's salvation. Later He declares that He, as the Good Shepherd, lays down His life for His sheep and He does this voluntarily. Toward the end of His ministry He begins to teach His personal disciples more plainly concerning the nature of His work, and He even tells them that

the Son of man came to give His life a ransom for many. Christ, however, lays a broad foundation for this doctrine in its practical aspect by the institution of the Lord's Supper. "This is my body broken for you," contains the germ of the whole doctrine. The life of the Son of God is given as a sacrifice in place of sinful men.

Christ's own teachings concerning atonement may be expressed in four propositions:

1. God manifests His love to sinners by the gift of His Son.
2. For the fulfillment of this gift it is in some way necessary that the Son suffer and die. This He does of His own free will.
3. His death is in a mysterious manner a ransom for sinners.
4. Those who are ransomed by Him must become holy.

Enlightened by the Holy Spirit, the apostles saw in the sufferings and death of Christ the ground of forgiveness, and the anti-type of the Old Testament sacrifices, the reconciliation of justice and mercy. "They became not only the organs of Christian consciousness, but channels of authoritative revelation." To teach new truth was not so much their task as to explain to the Church the practical relation of Christ's work and teaching to the individual believer. Of the twelve original apostles only the writings of Peter and John have come down to us, unless indeed the author of the epistle of James be the same as James, the son of Alphaeus. This epistle, however, is of little doctrinal importance, and therefore Peter and John stand as the only representatives of those who heard Christ's teaching. Peter clearly expresses the idea of a ransom paid for the deliverance of men both from the guilt of sin and the love of sin. This ransom is of unspeakable value. We are informed from what the ransom delivers us, but not to whom it is paid (I. Peter 1: 18, 19). Again he teaches that Christ lifted up and carried away our sins in His own person. He endured the punishment for us and the purpose was that the sinners, so freed from the guilt of sin, might become holy (I. Peter 2: 24). In another passage he expresses nearly the same idea. The righteous one bore the sins of the unjust, that the unjust might be brought to God, *i. e.*, that he

might be made like God, made holy (I. Peter 3: 18). His terminology is borrowed from the sacrificial system of the Old Testament, and the idea of vicarious suffering is distinctly taught. Justice is more prominent than love, and the whole subject is treated rather from the practical side.

John, the contemplative disciple, usually takes a subjective view of Christ's work. Deliverance from the love of sin seemed to attract his attention more than deliverance from its penalty. Cleansing rather than pardon is uppermost in his mind (I. John 1: 7). He who most fully teaches the love of God also dwells largely on propitiation, a term which implies pacification of the divine wrath (I. John 2: 1, 2, and 4: 9, 10).

In his Revelation he distinctly teaches that Christ's sufferings and death, represented by the term blood, are the ground of forgiveness and sanctification (Rev. 1: 5 and 5: 9).

Therefore we observe that these two apostles, so different in natural disposition, teach exactly the same thing concerning Christ's work, although the one makes forgiveness uppermost, involving the idea of sanctification, while the other makes the idea of sanctification uppermost, implying previous forgiveness. Both agree in making forgiveness and sanctification to be the result of Christ's voluntary sacrifice in our place. A vicarious, not a moral atonement is set forth, although a moral effect upon the believer is insisted upon as a fruit of forgiveness. The active and passive righteousness of Christ throughout his whole life constitute the ground of redemption, but His sufferings and death are the flower of His atoning work.

It is, however, in the writings of the great apostle to the Gentiles that the doctrine of redemption is most fully set forth. Paul may properly be called the father of soteriology, inasmuch as he is the organ by which the vicarious sacrifice is systematically and scientifically explained. He developed the doctrine of justification by faith, a doctrine which waited until the Reformation for its proper appreciation.

Paul's teaching is founded upon his own personal experience, the great discovery of his life, by which he found that those who

seek righteousness by the works of the law fail, while those who trust in Him who died for sinners are successful, for the just shall live by faith.

The epistle to the Romans is the most systematic theological treatise of the New Testament, and in it, as in no other writing of the apostles, is the idea of vicarious atonement set forth.

All men are proven to be offenders against God's law by nature and by practice. God, however, has provided a way by which He can justly acquit sinners. This is accomplished by the offering of Christ in man's place as a propitiation to divine justice (Romans 3: 24-26). In the development of his argument he specifically states that Christ died for the ungodly, thus giving proof of God's infinite love, and reconciling us to God by the death of a substitute (Romans 5: 6-10). Paul also develops the doctrine in a way not clearly taught by the other apostles. As Adam's sin brought condemnation and death to all men, because he stood as the representative of the race, so Christ, as a second federal head, brings justification and life to as many as obey Him (Romans 5: 18, 19).

While vicarious atonement is expressly taught, the ethical effect is advanced in the same manner as by the other apostles. The love of God, already having justified the sinner, is the ground of his grateful obedience (Romans 12: 1).

In the other epistles of Paul the doctrine is as distinctly, though not so systematically taught. In Galatians Christ appears as the one all-sufficient Saviour, in opposition to Jewish error. In Ephesians and Colossians, in opposition to the beginnings of the Gnostic philosophy, Paul represents Christ as the one perfect medium of divine revelation, Himself divine, and bringing together and to completion all things in Himself. In the other writings of Paul the atonement is treated more from its practical aspect, but with the philosophical basis clearly implied.

The epistle to the Hebrews, probably written by a Pauline disciple and perhaps under the master's personal direction, is inferior to none in its treatment of the doctrine of redemption. Its great advantage consists in its explanation of and its protest against the Old Testament types and sacrifices.

Christ is the final and complete revelation of God to man. He, in His threefold office, performs all works necessary for man's redemption. He is the one perfect sacrifice of which all other sacrifices are only shadows. The passages which not only imply, but expressly state vicarious atonement are the following: Heb. 2: 9, 10, 14, 15, 17; 5: 7-9; 7: 26, 27; 9: 26-28; 13: 10-12.

From this brief comparison of the teachings of the apostles, the following propositions may be considered as established beyond rational dispute. One may deny the truth of their statements, but he cannot deny their meaning.

1. God sent His Son into the world to redeem lost men from sin and its punishment, thus manifesting His love.

2. The Son voluntarily took this work upon Himself with all its consequences, thus manifesting His love.

3. God put the sins of the whole world upon the Son so that He bore their sin and punishment, thus satisfying divine justice. This atonement was necessary if sinners are to be saved.

4. This atonement, beside having a positive effect in delivering men from the guilt of sin, also has a moral effect, compelling men from gratitude to put away sin and by the help of the Holy Spirit to live unto righteousness.

Thus we observe that the doctrine of the apostles is identical with the doctrine of Christ Himself, the only difference consisting in the greater development in the epistles than in the gospels. This agreement between the words of Christ and the apostles refutes any theory which claims that Christ had no conception of a vicarious atonement, and that the doctrine was forced upon the Church by the apostle Paul.

As we have now considered briefly the Biblical doctrine of redemption, which is the foundation upon which all legitimate developments rest, we are prepared to begin the study of this idea as it expressed itself in the Christian consciousness of the Church.

The First Period. A. D. 70 to 253.

I. The Apostolic Fathers. 70 to 150.

The age immediately succeeding the generation which had

known the Word made flesh is involved in much obscurity. The young Church, just freed from the control of inspired teachers, knew not how to express itself. It felt the life of the Kingdom of Heaven within its veins, but it could not fully declare that life in words. It could only lisp the language of Canaan. Therefore we must not be surprised to find vague statements of important doctrines, for there were as yet no standard terms. The apostolic Christians saw in the life and death of Jesus a redeeming force, a power which breaks down sin and restores again the image of God and man. Although they seem not to have grasped the idea of satisfaction in its legal sense, yet every Sabbath as they partook of the bread and wine, symbols of Christ's body broken for them and of His blood shed for them, they gave thanks that their sins were forgiven them for Jesus' sake. The tendency of the early Fathers was practical rather than speculative, and therefore they contented themselves with Scripture quotations or, at the most, simple paraphrases.

Ideas have no existence apart from individual men, and therefore if we wish to study the doctrine of redemption in any period we must study it in the writings of men of that period. The oldest reference to the atonement after the writings of the New Testament is that by Clemens Romanus. He says: "Let us look steadfastly at the blood of Christ, and see how valuable it is before God, because, being shed for our salvation, it has brought the grace of repentance to all the world" (Cor. 1. c. 7). Again: "On account of the love which He had for us, Christ our Lord, by the will of God, gave His blood in our behalf, His flesh for our flesh, His soul for our souls" (Cor. c. 49). Three things Clement evidently believed:

1. Christ gave His entire person for our entire person, a sacrifice to divine justice.
2. This sacrifice is of sufficient value to atone for all the world.
3. Christians, by looking steadfastly at Christ, are to be made holy by the moral effects of His work.

Ignatius, a pupil of the apostle John, is not so definite in regard to the atonement as we could wish. He developed rather

the ecclesiastical idea to the exclusion of other subjects. He speaks of peace obtained through the passion and blood of Christ. He uses Christ's sufferings as a motive for personal consecration.

Polycarp was also a disciple of John. His influence throughout Asia Minor was very great, and continued long after he himself had entered the higher service. His interpretation of Scripture was more calm than that of Ignatius, and it was true of him, as Irenæus says, "He ever taught what he had learned from the apostles and what the Church still delivers." Polycarp's views are therefore worthy of the most careful consideration. These three points of Clement's soteriology are found in the following quotation from Polycarp, with several additional ideas: "Christ is our Saviour, for through grace we are righteous, not by works; for our sins He has even taken death upon Himself, has become the servant of us all, and our hope and the pledge of our righteousness through His death for us \* \* \* hold steadfastly to Him who is our hope and earnest of our righteousness, who is Jesus Christ, who bore our sins in His own body on the tree; who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth, but suffered all for us that we might live through Him" (Phil. 1 : 8).

The instruction which Polycarp gave his congregation is shown by the following extract from a letter issued by the Church of which he had been bishop. They say that the heathen thought that they wanted the body of Polycarp for purposes of worship, "not considering that neither will it be possible for us ever to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of the saved of the whole world, or to worship any other. For Him indeed as being the Son of God we adore." Letter of Church of Smyrna (c. 17). Barnabas, wrongly thought by some to be the same as the Barnabas mentioned by Paul, thus speaks: "On this account the Lord endured to permit His body to be destroyed, that by the remission of sins we might be sanctified, that is, by the shedding of His blood" (c. 5).

The epistle to Diognetus, written by an author unknown, breathes the spirit of the gospel, and perhaps more than any other writing of the time expresses the soteriology of Paul.

“God Himself gave up His own Son, a ransom for us, the holy for the unholy, the good for the evil, the just for the unjust, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal. For what else could cover our sins but His righteousness? In whom was it possible for us, the unholy and the ungodly, to be justified, except the Son of God alone. O sweet exchange! O wonderful work! O unlooked for benefit! That the sinfulness of many should be hidden in one, that the righteousness of one should justify many ungodly” (c. 9).

Paul himself could not have expressed the doctrine of justification by Christ apart from the works of the law in any stronger or more beautiful language.

From these quotations from the leaders of thought in the Apostolic Church it is evident that the Church held vaguely perhaps and more as a matter of Christian consciousness than of doctrinal formula, the following propositions:

1. God's justice must be satisfied.
2. Christ, at God's command, and of His own will, offering Himself as a sacrifice for sinners.
3. Christ's character as divine and as a perfect man are necessary for the vicarious work.
4. The effect of Christ's sacrifice on those redeemed is sanctification.

## II. THE HERESIES OF THE PERIOD IN THEIR RELATION TO THE DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION.

Side by side with the true doctrine grew up the false. Certain heresies began within the lifetime of the apostles and developed along two opposite courses, the one heathen, the other Judaistic. The Judaistic tendency developed into the various forms of Ebionitism, while the heathen tendency ramified into the fantastic Gnostic systems. The Ebionites, with their narrow Jewish view of the Messiah, saw in Jesus only a prophet who had unfolded a stricter interpretation of the law. His death was to them the same as the death of any other martyr, and of course could have no redeeming force. The idea of redemption is there-



fore entirely absent from the Ebionite system. Gnosticism divided itself into two great schools, the Syrian, of which Marcion was head, and the Egyptian, which was controlled by the profounder intellects of Valentinus and Basilides. Marcion could find no agreement between the justice of the Old Testament and the love of the New; hence he rejected the Old, making its author to be an inferior evil deity. There was no real incarnation, for Christ's body was only a phantom; therefore he could not suffer, and there cannot be any such thing as vicarious suffering.

A short statement of the belief of the Ophites, a lesser Syrian Gnostic sect, will explain the position of this class of Gnostics in regard to the doctrine of atonement. According to this system the Aeon, Christ, having descended upon the man, Jesus, enabled him to work miracles and to proclaim the unknown "To ON," who is above the Demiurge of the Old Testament, Jaldabaoth. For this reason Jaldabaoth is angered and causes the man Jesus to suffer, but in these sufferings the Aeon Christ has no share, for he ascends to heaven, leaving Jesus to his fate. As in this and kindred systems there is no real incarnation and no sufferings of a Divine being, the idea of vicarious atonement reaches the vanishing point.

The Egyptian Gnostics were more philosophical in their statements. They held to the inspiration of the Old Testament by an inferior good deity. They taught, however, that suffering is always connected with personal sin. Each sinner must bear his own punishment; hence there cannot be any such thing as vicarious suffering; therefore Christ's atonement is reduced to only a splendid show. Basilides acknowledged the sinlessness of Jesus, but failed to account for this sinless sufferer. Therefore Ebionitism and Gnosticism, although representing the extremes of thought, unite in denying the redemption of Christ, the one by destroying His divinity and the other by destroying His humanity.

III. The Primitive Fathers (150 to 252). As we leave the age of the Apostolic Fathers the stream of doctrinal development widens. The Church, as she is attacked by enemies from without and heretics within, must defend herself. Apologies

and controversial works become numerous. The writers of this century hold firmly to the doctrine of Christ's vicarious suffering, but they allow themselves to be diverted from fundamentals to the consideration of minor points. Besides this, as in the former century, they look at truth from different sides and so express themselves in ways which seem to some critics antagonistic. True unity among those who are led by the Spirit does not consist in uniformity of statement, but in essential spirit. One idea, which has but little ground in Scripture, was developed till it seemed in the writings of certain Fathers to overshadow all else. This idea, founded on such passages as Col. 2: 15 and Heb. 2: 14, etc., was that Christ paid a ransom to Satan for man's deliverance. It probably was the result of the unconscious influence of Gnostic dualism upon the minds of a certain class. Under modified forms this notion maintained itself for centuries, and we shall more fully consider it later.

Justin Martyr, the philosopher Christian, well expresses the orthodox doctrine of his day.

He is explicit as to Christ's nature and as to the effects of Christ's death. His death is an atoning sacrifice for the world. Christ's active obedience was necessary for the perfect offering. By His death He gained a victory over the power of Satan. Good works have no influence upon salvation, but a receptive faith in Christ is required of the individual. The teachings of Jesus have a moral influence for the restoration of the world. Justin combated the docetism of his day with energy, a fact which alone would prove that he held the doctrine of a sacrifice of Christ for sins. The idea that Christ took upon Himself the curse due to men effected him powerfully. Compare, "The Father willed that His Christ should take upon Himself the curse of all for the whole race of man" (Dia. c. Trypho. c. 95). Again: "As the blood of the passover saved those who were in Egypt so also the blood of Christ will deliver from death those who believe" (Dia. c. Trypho, III.). Tertullian, at a little later day, is the first Christian writer to use the Latin language. His writings are chiefly against docetism, and therefore while not directly

developing the doctrine of atonement he impliedly maintains it, for when he insists upon the reality of Christ's body and of his sufferings and death he really does so because of their relation to the sacrificial offering.

The doctrine of redemption reaches its highest development with Irenæus, and other writers until Anselm only repeat his ideas, or even go backward. Irenæus maintains the doctrine in its broader aspects and positively. He holds firmly to the old idea of a ransom, but he also is the first writer to elaborate the teaching of Paul in regard to Christ's position as the second Adam, the head of a new redeemed race. From this high ground he views the whole field, and shows what we have inherited from the first Adam and what we receive from the second Adam. Christ must be made like unto His brethren in all things that He may redeem all. God must become united to man to conquer evil for man. The whole life of Jesus had a redemptive influence which culminated in His death. The following beautiful passage expresses this thought: "For He went through everything to save all: I say all who believe in Him, who through Him are born to God, infants and little boys, and boys and young men and old men. Therefore he passed through every age, and was made an infant for infants, sanctifying infants; a little boy for little boys, sanctifying those of that age, and at the same time an example to them of piety, of justice and of obedience; a young man for young men, having been made an example for young men, and sanctifying them to the Lord; so also of mature age for the aged, that he might be made a teacher for all \* \* \* at the same time sanctifying the aged, and also becoming an example for them; and so He even passed through death, that He might be the first born from the dead, He Himself holding the first in all, Lord of life, superior to all and before all." The necessity of Christ's incarnation is expressed in the following: "And on this account in the last times the Lord restore us to friendship through His incarnation, being made a Mediator between God and man, pacifying for us the Father against Whom we had sinned."

Irenæus also developed the idea of a ransom paid to Satan, but not in a repulsive form. Perhaps he may have been somewhat influenced by Gnostic dualism when he wrote the following passage: "The Logos, not wanting in essential justice, proceeded in strict justice even against the apostasy or kingdom of evil itself, redeeming from it that which was his own in the first place, not by using violence, but by persuasion, as it became God, so that neither justice should be infringed upon or the original creation of God perish" (Ad. H. 5 : 1).

This passage has been the occasion of much discussion, but the idea seems to be :

1. Man had fallen under the dominion of Satan.
2. Man could not free himself and God would not free him except in absolute rectitude.
3. Christ by persuasion—whatever that may mean—saved man from the kingdom of darkness, thus acting in absolute justice toward all concerned.

Smeaton says of Irenæus: "We call attention to the fact that Irenæus, one of the profoundest minds of all antiquity, in a thoroughly Biblical way took in all previous developments and assimilated them, but made a great advance upon them. He penetrated more fully into the Pauline thought, and it would have been well had no distracting theories subsequently come in to draw the Church aside from the ground he occupied."

We shall now consider the Soteriology of the early Alexandrian school, a school of which Origen is the great exponent. This school was more effected by Gnosticism than any other part of the Church, and therefore the doctrine of redemption is one of the weakest points of its theology. Even the pious Clement combines more philosophy with his religion than is good for the latter. He weakens the one all-sufficient sacrifice by maintaining that the death of martyrs has an atoning efficiency, of the same nature but of different degree than that of Christ's death. Upon Origen, however, lies the responsibility of dissipating this great doctrine of the Church, thus opening the way for many of the evils which reduced the Christianity of Egypt to the condition in which

it became an easy conquest for the Mohammedan invaders four centuries later. In Origen is observed that struggle between the head and the heart which is often seen in great speculative thinkers. When he spoke according to the dictates of his own experience he was orthodox and Biblical, but when he gave the rein to his imagination he was as much a Gnostic as a Christian. His own religious consciousness gave rise to such expressions as the following: "The entrance of sin into the world made a propitiation necessary, and there can be no propitiation without a sacrificial offering." "Our Lord and Saviour as a lamb was led to the slaughter and, offered in sacrifice for others, He gave remission of sins to the whole world" (Hom. on Numbers 24).

In his character as a speculator, Origen fell into two kinds of error.

1. In regard to the person and work of Christ. The Son or Logos with him is not a necessary being. It is true that he is eternal in a certain sense, for He is begotten from eternity, but only because the Father willed that the Son should eternally proceed from Him. He therefore laid the foundation for the heresy of Arius.

In regard to Christ's redemptive work, Origen held the idea of a price paid to Satan in its most grotesque form. Christ offered himself to Satan as a ransom, concealing His divinity under His spotless humanity. Satan, thus deceived, consented to accept this perfect man as a ransom for sinners, but was unable to keep the holy soul of Jesus on account of His divinity. He therefore lost both Him and his captive, man. He says: "But to whom did He give His soul a ransom for many? Certainly not to God. Was it not then to the evil one? For he himself had power over us until a ransom was given him for us, the soul of Jesus, he (Satan) being deceived, not being able to keep control over it, and not seeing that he could not endure the torture of having it in his possession; therefore when death had gained possession of His glory, not yet did it hold Him when He had come among the dead, free and more powerful than the strength of death itself; so that all of those who have been overcome by death who wish

to follow Him are able to follow, death no more having dominion over them" (Com. on Matt.). How absurd and unscriptural such an opinion is may be readily seen.

2. In regard to the origin and destiny of the universe.

In speculating upon the origin of the universe, the origin of man, the extent of punishment and the effect of good works, Origen allowed his mind to run beyond Scripture or reason. He taught that the amount of matter in the material universe, being less than infinite, was always in a state of evolution through world cycles. Man also passes through periods of transmigration, of which their appearance in this world is but one. They experience a series of falls and restorations throughout an indefinite period. Agreeing with the Egyptian Gnostics, he taught that it was incompatible with infinite goodness to inflict eternal punishment, for according to their theory punishment can be just only when it is corrective. The death of martyrs and the good works of the saints in his system also have power with God. All these speculations of this great thinker are antagonistic to the grand Scriptural doctrine of redemption through a divine-human Saviour. If Christ is less than infinite, as He is, if He is not self-existent and independently eternal, He cannot be an infinite Saviour. If men experience repeated falls and restorations for countless ages in the struggle toward God, the atoning work of Christ is lessened in dignity, for it is a common occurrence in the regular order of evolution. The doctrine of the restoration of all sinners without regard to character is derogatory to the divine justice, and makes the work of Christ an unnecessary display of suffering. Of course the doctrine of the efficiency of good works lowers the value of Christ's sacrifice.

The Second Period. A. D. 252 to 730.

I. General Conditions.

As we begin the study of the doctrine of redemption in the second period of the Church's history, it is well for us to take a brief view of the conditions which influenced its development. Persecution has about ceased at the beginning of the fourth century. Christianity was victorious throughout the whole Empire.

The leaven of the gospel had permeated beyond the bounds of Rome's government and the barbarians of northern Europe were bowing before the cross. The world was in a ferment, politically, religiously and socially.

The Roman Church was growing extensively and intensively. The Greek Church was gradually losing her vitality, and near the end of this period she fell before the rising crescent. Spiritual Christianity was declining and a rigid ecclesiasticism was taking its place. The sense of sin was becoming less throughout the whole period, and therefore the idea of redemption dependent upon it declined also. Apologetics gave way to polemics and doctrine was developed by conflict. Personal opinion was bound by synodical decisions as it had not been in the former period.

II. As in the previous period, we will consider the heresies which influenced the doctrine of redemption, before we proceed to follow the ever deepening stream of orthodoxy. The Ebionitism of the former period, that off-spring of Jewish bigotry, was practically dead. The vagaries of the Gnostics had been driven out of the Church, and had almost become a separate religion under the inspiration of Manes.

The heresies of the period may be classed as Theological, Christological and Anthropological. Under Theological heresies are considered the heresies of Sabellius and Arius. Sabellius by denying any distinction of persons in the Godhead beyond a modal Trinity, brought Christianity into harmony in one essential with the Eastern religion and by so doing destroyed the doctrine of a theanthropic Redeemer, and with this true redemption on the human side. Arius, however, at the opposite extreme, following out the subordination theory of Origen, logically made Christ a creature and so attacked theanthropic redemption on the divine side.

The Christological heresies either confounded the human and divine, or separated them to too great an extent. Under the former head is placed the Eutychian heresy with its branches in Monophysite controversy. The heresies of this class had the same effect on the doctrine of redemption as the Sabellian heresy,



in that they destroyed or rather swallowed up the human in the divine nature of Christ. They left the Church a divine King but not a High Priest touched with the feeling of our infirmities. On the other hand are those heresies which separate the divine and human to too great an extent. The Apollinarian and the Nestorian systems belong to this class. While directly opposing the former systems they really have the same effect upon the doctrine of redemption, for they make Christ a mysterious double being, in no proper sense offering His whole nature as a sacrifice for sins. But if the human nature alone suffers, what is the especial value of the sacrifice? While these controversies engaged the attention of the Eastern Church, Anthropology was developed in the Western Church by the Pelagian controversy. Pelagianism does not bear so directly on our subject. Its influence rather affects the necessity of atonement than the nature of it. However, by making the law as good a means of salvation as the gospel, it makes the atonement of less value, if not altogether unnecessary.

III. Soteriology of the Eastern Fathers. Athanasius first claims our attention. This great thinker gave the strength of his powerful intellect to the support of the doctrine of the true divinity of Christ. To establish this doctrine and to defend it against the attacks of Arius was the work of his life. For this he wrote, preached and suffered persecution. His influence it was which controlled the council of Nicæa in 325. Speaking of Christ's work, the creed there framed under the inspiration of Athanasius says: "We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ \* \* \* who for us men and our salvation descended, took upon Him flesh, became a man, suffered and rose the third day and ascended into heaven." Athanasius wrote no treatise on redemption, but his writings are full of allusions to it. His views were strictly Biblical as the quotation from the creed, which undoubtedly expresses his opinion, shows. Perhaps the great Father of Orthodoxy would have done better, however, if he had followed more closely the idea of John, who places salvation from the love of sin among the most important results of redemption. That sal-



vation from sin is as important as salvation from the punishment of sin, Athanasius failed to see, or at least he did not so express himself. He dwells upon the idea that since God had condemned man, his truthfulness required that the sentence be executed, and he seeks to show how that the divine truthfulness is maintained and goodness shown by the substitution of Christ as a victim. In order to make this substitution of sufficient value he strongly insists upon the real incarnation of the Logos, and he shows how Christ's taking upon Himself human nature sanctifies humanity. The following passage well expresses his opinion concerning the necessity of the incarnation for the atonement :

“ For the Logos knew that not otherwise could the corruption of man be cleansed except through the death of all. As it was not possible for the Logos, being incorruptible and the Son of the Father, to die, on this account He took upon Himself a mortal body, that this, being assumed by the Logos for all, might become liable to death in behalf of all. And, because the incorruptible Logos dwelt in it, it remained, and for the rest the corruption of all ceased by the grace of the resurrection. For this reason, as a victim and a sacrifice, free from all spot, He took upon Himself a body, undergoing death, and straightway freed all His fellows from death by the offering of a substitute ” (De Incarnatione Verbi, c. 9).

The views of Athanasius exerted a strong influence throughout the Eastern Church, and his idea that Christ's divinity was necessary to render his sufferings of sufficient value to atone for infinite guilt prevailed in the orthodox theology. Eusebius of Cæsarea shows the effects of this idea when he teaches that Christ is the divine Head of a human body, the Church. Hence any evil which befalls the members is felt by the Head. Hence the prophets represent the ideal man, *i. e.*, Christ, as confessing sin and undergoing punishment. In accord with Athanasius, the sufferings of the Head, because divine, are of sufficient value to atone for the sins of the members. Cyril of Jerusalem also shows the same influence. God maintains His truthfulness and yet finds a way to pardon sinners. Therefore goodness and

mercy are united and the divine veracity is maintained. Compare the following:

“For we were enemies to God on account of sin, and God swore that the sinner should die. Therefore one of two things must take place: either God, being true, must destroy all, or, loving man, must pass by the execution of the sentence. But behold the wisdom of God: he preserves His truth by the execution of the sentence and the operation of his love toward man” (Cat.13: 33).

The three great Cappadocians, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzen, now claim our attention. They follow closely in the footsteps of Origen. Satan plays an important part in the scheme of redemption of the two first. According to Gregory of Nyssa, Christ offered Himself as a ransom to Satan for sinners. The devil accepted the offer, because he saw Christ's sinless character, but failed to recognize His divinity. But Christ, because He was divine, could not be held by Satan, and escaped Himself and took man with Him. God could have saved man simply by using force, but He chose this way, and therefore the atonement is only a relative necessity. In these ideas he agrees almost entirely with Origen. Basil follows in about the same path, but claimed that there was no other method possible, and he therefore made atonement an absolute necessity.

He held that it was useful for one to have right conceptions of the method of atonement, but that a mistake was not serious so long as the essential personal truth was held. He denies that the price was paid to Satan, considering such a thought shameful. Neither was the ransom paid to the Father because His wrath must be appeased, but because the divine economy demanded that a ransom be paid. His idea of Christ's work is well summed up in a few words: “He has ascended the cross, and taken me with Him, to nail my sins on it, to triumph over the serpent, to sanctify the tree, to overcome lust, to lead Adam to salvation, and to restore the fallen image of God” (Orat. 24: 4). John Chrysostom, the pious and eloquent preacher of Constantinople, made no advance in the doctrine. His mind was not given to speculation. Practical piety of heart expressing itself in a Chris-

tian life was the purpose for which his energy was exerted. That he held to the Scriptural doctrine of the atonement in its entirety, the following quotation from his commentary on (Romans 5 : 17) shows : “ For Christ has paid far more than we owed, as much more as a boundless ocean compared with a drop of water. Doubt not then, O man, when you see such a wealth of benefits ; nor inquire how that spark of death and sin can be extinguished when such a sea of blessings is let in upon it.” As the allegorical method of interpretation waned with the decline of the Alexandrian theology, a more rational method was employed in the school of Antioch. Of the soteriology of this school Theodoret is a good exponent. His interpretations are for the most part strictly Biblical and in treating of atonement he often confines himself to paraphrases of Scripture. In regard to the relation to Christ to the kingdom of Satan, he taught that Christ conquered Satan in so far that he resisted the severest temptations and stood where Adam had fallen. As the new Head of the race, He therefore took by right Satan’s captive from him. The next three hundred years add little to the history of doctrine in the Greek Church. The views of the former writers were held, but not arranged. Athanasius held the first place in authority and his statements become more and more the standard of orthodoxy. The chill of spiritual and intellectual death was creeping over the Greek Church. Just before the beginning of the Scholastic era, a last expiring flame of the old fire flashed forth from the stagnation of the Greek Church. John of Damascus was not original, for the age of originality long before had passed. His task was to systematize the labors of the giants of a former time and to present the results of their intellectual efforts to the pygmies of his own time. He held to the vicarious death of Christ and denies that the ransom was paid to Satan. Thus He distinctly says : “ He who assumed death for us died and offered Himself a sacrifice to the Father, for we had committed wrongs toward Him, and it was necessary for Him to receive a ransom, and we thus be delivered from condemnation. For God forbid that the blood of the Lord should be offered to

a tyrant (Ex. Fidei, III. 27). The great fault of the Greek Church was that she spent too much time in the elaboration and discussion of minor points, while she neglected the fundamental and practical aspects of redemption. The gospel furnishes poor material for the intellectual gymnastics of the mere sophist. The Greek Church failed to grasp the idea of the absolute necessity of atonement in the justice of God. Relative necessity seemed a sufficient reason to her for the great mystery of the incarnation, and so by losing sight of the greatness of redemption she was led into all manner of unprofitable speculation. The Greek Church, as a whole, however made the extent of the atonement unlimited, nay, even in the school of Alexandria the influence of the atonement was made to extend beyond this world and to take in the whole universe.

Having glanced briefly at the views of a few of the more prominent exponents of Greek theology, we will now turn our attention to the expression of the doctrine of atonement in the Latin Church.

#### IV. The Soteriology of the Latin Fathers.

The Roman mind was more practical and not so subtle as that of the Greek. Rome could conquer Greece by force of arms, but Greece in turn could make Rome become a pensioner to her intellect. Consequently it is not surprising that doctrinal subjects received less attention in the Roman Church than in the Greek. While the Greek Fathers were speculating on the relation of the persons in the Trinity, and the mysteries of the incarnation, Rome was engaged in perfecting that ecclesiastical organization which has become the example of a perfect organism for the whole world, and in vast missionary operations. Therefore we find in the Latin Fathers ideas concerning the atonement borrowed directly from the keener schools of Alexandria and Antioch. All the Fathers of this period held, however, to the doctrine of a vicarious and expiatory sacrifice. Moral atonement, as such alone, was unknown to them. After Tertullian, who belongs to the former period, the first great name is that of Cyprian. Cyprian was a strong Churchman. He was the first to lay stress on the

doctrine of apostolic succession. To him the Church organization and the Kingdom of God are one. His whole power was devoted to increasing the strength of the Church as an organization. Hence he says little upon soteriology. That he held however to Christ's vicarious sacrifice is proven by numerous incidental statements. The following quotation is an example: "Christ bore us all who also bore our sins" (Epistle 63).

Ambrose, although belonging to the Latin Church, was essentially Greek in spirit. Christ's divinity was one of the chief thoughts in his mind. God became incarnate for the sake of saving men by the substitution of an infinitely valuable sacrifice. Contrary to the opinion of most of the Greek Fathers, this sacrifice is limited in extent, being made only for the sake of the elect. He says: "God therefore took flesh, that he might abolish the curse of sinful flesh, and was made a curse for us, that the blessing might swallow up the curse, sinlessness sin, benevolence condemnation and life death, that the sentence might be fulfilled, that satisfaction might be made" (Lib. de Tob. 10 c: 7).

Ambrose, while not holding the extreme view of a fraud practiced on Satan, nevertheless thought that Satan was deceived when he tempted Jesus by the appearance of his humanity.

We would suppose that Augustine, the greatest thinker of the Western Church, would express himself clearly on so important a doctrine as the doctrine of the atonement. But such is not the case. Anthropology was the department upon which his intellect expended its strength, and while much of soteriology is implied in a proper anthropology, it is only implied, and not definitely stated. In soteriology Augustine shares the faults of his time. He never distinguished clearly between justification and sanctification as the following passage proves: "God justifies the ungodly not only by remitting the sins he commits, but also by giving him inward love, which causes him to depart from evil and makes him holy through the Spirit" (C. Julianum II. 165). Augustine was somewhat affected by the idea of a price paid to Satan, thus: "God the Son being clothed with humanity subjugated even the devil to man, taking nothing from him by vio-

lence, but overcoming him by the law of justice; for it would have been injustice if the devil had not had the right to rule over the being he had taken (*De Libero arbitrio* III. 10). How foolish this view is according to modern ideas. Yet the fact that it was so strongly expressed by the greatest religious thinker of the 5th century shows how great an advance the Church has made in her ideas of the plan of salvation. Augustine, however, develops quite fully the priestly kingship of Christ. "He indeed was anointed both King and Priest. As King He fought for us, as Priest He offered Himself for us. He fought for us after the manner of one conquered, but yet He was victorious. For He was crucified, and from that cross of His on which He was fixed, He slew the devil, and for this reason He is our King. Moreover, why is He Priest? Because He offered Himself for us \* \* \* and what gift, what victim could a man find to give? What gift could a sinner offer? O wicked one, O guilty one, whatever you could offer is unclean, and yet an offering must be made for thee. Therefore the holy Priest offered Himself and made purification. That is what Christ did. No gift did He find in man which He could offer; therefore He gave Himself, an holy victim. O happy victim; O true victim; O sacrifice immaculate" (*Com. on Psalm 143*).

Augustine strongly expressed the necessity of a true divinity in Christ, in order to make the sacrifice of infinite value, and at the same time a true humanity, in order to make the offering that of mankind, was seen by Him to be equally important. "Our priest received from us what He might offer for us, for He took flesh upon Himself and in that very flesh He was made a victim, a burnt offering, a sacrifice" (*Com. on Psalm 149*).

Augustine elaborated the idea of a definite atonement in opposition to the almost unanimous opinion of the Greek Church. In this respect, however, he was in substantial agreement with Cyprian and Ambrose. Sometimes he speaks as if the atonement was only a relative necessity, but he also expressly declares that he considers debates concerning the possibilities of divine method to be unprofitable and foolish.

After the time of Augustine the Latin Church began to lose her intellectual power. Men no longer thought for themselves, but depended upon the thought of former generations. As in the Greek Church, with the ending of the fifth century the age of great men passed away, to be succeeded by the age of little men. Unlike her Eastern sister, however, the Latin Church did not lose her vitality altogether. She abandoned intellectual activity for the sake of consecrating all her vast energies to the extension and unification of her ecclesiastical power. Orthodoxy still repeated the statements which had been elaborated by the early Fathers, and no doubt in the midst of a growing legalism many a member of the external Church felt their inward spiritual force and became not only a member of the external kingdom of God, of which so much was made, but also a true member of that spiritual kingdom which cometh not with observation. Even Gregory the Great, who has often been called the first Pope, and who would not be expected to be very spiritual in his views, clearly expresses the idea of vicarious atonement, when he says, "Our Lord endureth for us a death not due, that the death due to us might not harm us" (*Moralia in Jobum* 17: 46).

In the early centuries the doctrines of the atonement was evidently considered one of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. It was the unique feature of the Christian system. Schools might disagree with each other; Church Councils might engage in unseemly strife over unintelligible statements concerning the person of Christ; the bishop of one Church might anathematize his neighbor in the episcopal office, but all agreed in acknowledging the atonement as the one necessary truth of Christianity.

Tenaciously was the doctrine held throughout the early centuries of the Church's life, often more as a matter of religious experience and Christian consciousness than as a formulated dogma. No great controversies were waged concerning it, and yet, perhaps, the indignation with which certain theories respecting Christ's person were received arose from the feeling that such theories were derogatory to the great sacrifice of the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world.



There were two evil tendencies in regard to this doctrine in the early Church. The first was a tendency to develop minor details, to the exclusion of the more important. This was an error of judgment rather than of the heart. One of the chief ways in which this tendency showed itself was the inclination to magnify Satan's relation to the offering of Christ. As we have seen, these views regarded Christ's death either as a ransom paid to Satan, as a conquest over him, or as the result of the devil's cruelty by which he overstepped his right and so lost his right in the human race. The Fathers who held such views were unable to grasp the higher ideas of the doctrine, and so made the great offering merely a relative thing, for which God could have substituted something else if he had wished. They failed to see that it is no denial of omnipotence to say that God always acts in character. More dangerous was the tendency which made other things besides the sufferings and death of the Lord Jesus to have a power in redemption. This evil tendency arose very early, for even Polycarp speaks of works which save from death. In the Western Church, Tertullian, and at a later day Augustine, were arch-offenders. In the East the school of Alexandria, of which Clement and Origen are chief exponents, exerted a baleful influence in this direction. With the declining sense of sin and the increasing ecclesiasticism of an ambitious and worldly clergy, the tendency developed rapidly and finally bore the bitter fruit of the doctrine of salvation by works. This doctrine brought the Church of Christ into bondage to the law for nearly a thousand years. Ascetic practices, prayer to saints, elaborate systems of penance, are all the legitimate results of this tendency which is diametrically opposed to the gospel, in accord with which Christ is made to us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption.



## NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

**HEREDITY AND CHRISTIAN PROBLEMS.** By Amory H. Bradford. New York, Macmillan & Co. 1895. Pages, 293.

Some idea of the range of thought embraced in this volume may be obtained from the table of contents, which is as follows, each subject forming the title of a separate chapter: "The Law of Heredity," "Theories of Heredity," "Physical Heredity," "Intellectual and Moral Heredity," "Environment," "The Problem of the Will," "The Problem of the Home," "The Problem of Education," "The Problem of Pauperism," "The Problem of Vice and Crime," "The Problem of Sin and the Race," "The Problem of Faith," "The Problem of the Person of Christ," "Conclusion."

The author, of course, accepts the theory of evolution, and applies it to the solution of some of the hard questions in theology and ethics. There is no doubt that the answers which some of these questions have received in the past are no longer satisfactory. We agree with the author in the following propositions, contained in the preface of the book before us: "More than most persons dream, the old ways of presenting such truths (as those discussed in this volume) have disappeared, and would no longer be tolerated by those that call themselves conservatives. There is no philosophical basis for the ideas of reprobation and condemnation of sins never committed. There is no longer need of arguing against such teaching; it has gone, and would never more be heard if it were not raised from its grave every now and then by over-zealous opponents, who ignorantly imagine that they are fighting against living antagonists." This is true, doubtless, of some of the older forms of the doctrine of "original sin," and of kindred doctrines. On these subjects the doctrine of evolution has thrown much light, although it has not yet solved every question that may be connected with them.

Many have been afraid of the theory of evolution because of its supposed subversion of the foundations of morality and religion. How groundless this fear is may be learned from a careful perusal of the book here under notice. Take, for instance, the chapter on "The Problem of the Will." That the will is undoubtedly influenced largely by heredity and environment, must be admitted by all intelligent persons, and this fact should be taken into account in all efforts of reform whether social or individual. But is the will still free, or is it merely the slave of heredity and environment? If the latter, then the

individual is without responsibility for its acts, and no sin can be properly imputed to the person who commits it. Some have taken the position that evolutionists are bound to take this view of the case. Some evolutionists have taken this view; but the majority refuse to do this, and yet claim to be consistent evolutionists. To this class belongs Dr. Bradford. While fully admitting the influence exerted upon the will by heredity and environment, he says, page 90: "In every man there is an untainted power, something which passes from generation to generation untouched by change, and in this ultimate essence of personality rests the power of choice, which may be shut in by evil conditions and tied to a thousand evil tendencies, but which is in its nature free, and is rarely, if ever, entirely denied expression."

According to Dr. Bradford man is the product of three factors, namely, heredity, environment and personality. Neither of these acts independently of the other two, and no one of them is omnipotent. The force or tendency of heredity may be overcome, or at least modified, by environment; and both heredity and environment may be controlled by personality, or the power of will. The will exists as an original, self-determining force in every man. It may surrender its power, and the man may float passively on the stream of circumstances; but it may also assert its power, and the man may become something different from what the law of heredity and the influence of environment, if they had acted alone, would have made him.

This truth is especially apparent in the case of Christ. In the chapter on the problem of Christ the author of the book before us confines himself simply to the negative task of showing that Christ could not be explained by the operation of the laws of heredity and environment. Christ is something more than the life and nature of the Jewish race, and the enviroing circumstances under which He lived would have made Him to be. Those who have looked with suspicion upon all evolutionary science, because of its supposed unfavorable bearing upon the doctrine of the incarnation, may here find assurance that their suspicion has been groundless. Christ is not an impossibility in a world produced or developed according to fixed laws. But Christ is no accident either, having come into the world independently of the continuity and harmony of its own life. That is a truth which the doctrine of evolution has clearly taught.

In conclusion we would say that we have read this book through, and do not hesitate to recommend it to thoughtful persons as a work of interest and profit. To ministers of the gospel, to teachers, reformers and philanthropists, to students of sociology, and to fathers and mothers rearing up families, it will afford valuable aid. They will not find in these pages

solution of all their doubts and difficulties, perhaps, but they will find much that will be stimulating to thought and helpful in arriving at proper conclusions. W. R.

**DOCTRINE AND LIFE:** A Study of Some of the Principal Truths of the Christian Religion in their Relation to Christian Experience. By George B. Stevens, Ph. D., DD., Professor in Yale University. Silver, Burdett & Co., New York, Boston, Chicago. 1895. Pages, 251.

The design of this volume is fully expressed in the title page. In the preface the author tells us that its "aim is to present the principal doctrines of Christianity in their correlation with the Christian life." "These doctrines," he continues, "have therefore been approached from the point of view of the Christian consciousness rather than from that of philosophy or criticism. Our main question in this study is not, How might the Christian philosopher justify the belief under review? nor, How might the Biblical scholar elaborate and defend it? but, What is the adaptation of the given doctrine to the needs of the soul, and its use in the Christian life? How is its truth attested in experience?"

In the light of the principle here set forth the following subjects are treated in as many separate chapters: "The Relation of Doctrine to Life," "The Soul Naturally Christian," "The Belief in God," "Revelation and the Bible," "The Character of God," "The Trinity," "The Person of Christ," "The Work of the Spirit," "The Fact of Sin," "The Intercession of Christ," "The Doctrine of Faith," "The Doctrine of Love," "The Doctrine of Prayer," "The Future Life." The treatment of these subjects is able and thorough, and the volume contains a great amount of material that can be made fruitful for homiletic purposes. The preacher, accordingly, will be especially interested in the treatise, although it is free from technicalities and written in a style that makes it intelligible to thoughtful persons generally.

There is a tendency in our day to depreciate doctrine in favor of practice. It is often said that doctrine is of little account; practice is the important thing; and there are ministers who studiously avoid the discussion and even the study of doctrine, and devote their time and attention entirely to what are supposed to be practical themes. It is not what people believe, but what they do, that makes them Christians. Now there is a truth as well as an error in this view. The truth is that doctrine, merely as an intellectual interest, regarded as something separate and apart from life, can have no religious value. It is possible to present doctrines in such way as to make them useless for religious and moral purposes. For instance, the doctrine of the Trinity might be preached in such a manner as to make it in-

different to the hearer how many persons there might be in the Godhead, whether three or three hundred.

It is, however, an error, on the other hand, to suppose that Christian practice can long be divorced from Christian doctrine. This proposition is clearly demonstrated in the book under notice. Even the doctrine of the Trinity, which in itself is so profoundly mysterious and abstruse, is yet full of practical interest for the Christian believer; and it is the business of the Christian preacher always to present it in its relation to Christian faith and life. The difficulty which such doctrines as that of the Trinity usually occasion in homiletic practice generally arises from the fact that, instead of being presented as concrete realities in relation to life, they are presented as intellectual problems whose truth is to be demonstrated as propositions in mathematics are demonstrated. How many arguments have been wasted upon the vain effort to demonstrate the proposition that three may be one and one three?

Another circumstance which has tended to make doctrine unpopular has doubtless been the fact that the doctrines presented in many Christian pulpits have been adjusted to philosophical and critical schemes, rather than to the Christian consciousness and life. For instance, the doctrine of original sin has been so preached as to make it to mean the idea of the imputation of the guilt of another's transgression, and the doctrine of atonement as the idea of the vicarious punishment of sin. But these ideas now do not commend themselves to the Christian consciousness. When plainly presented to the minds of common Christian men they shock the finer sensibilities and the conscience. Nevertheless the preacher says that he gets them out of the Bible by the application of his exegetical methods, and that they must therefore be true. What, then, is the result? The result is a sort of half-conscious conclusion that Christian or Biblical doctrines, while true in themselves, are not *practical*; they have no immediate relation to Christian life and conscience, and may be remitted to the limbo of abstract theology whose contents are wholly unfit for practice.

Doctrines, in order to be preached with effect, must be true as tested by the touchstone of Christian consciousness and experience. It is to this test that Professor Stevens brings the doctrines which he reviews in this volume. Not that he is, therefore, unscriptural; for the Scriptures, *rightly* interpreted, cannot be in opposition to the teaching of the Holy Spirit in the Christian heart and conscience. His views of such doctrines as those relating to revelation, to inspiration, to the character of God, to sin, to the atonement, to the work of the Spirit, and so forth, we believe to be Scriptural and true; and we, therefore, commend this volume to our readers as one that will

itself to be inspiring and helpful to them in the formulation of Christian truth. W. R.

**ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY.** By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D. D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow; Author of "The Kingdom of God," "The Training of the Twelve," etc. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1894. Pages xiii. and 404.

Professor Bruce is well known both in England and in this country as an able, vigorous, liberal and progressive theologian. His previous publications, although at one time they excited a suspicion of heresy in the minds of some of the brethren of his Church, have generally been well received by thoughtful men in the ministry and have helped many to higher and clearer views of Christian truth. We have no doubt that the present work, which is published as a companion volume to the author's previous work on "The Kingdom of God," will be equally well received and found to be equally valuable.

Works of this kind belong to the comparatively new science of Biblical Theology. Biblical Theology is the theology of the writers of the Bible, who were not one, but many. Consequently there must be more than one phase or form of Biblical Theology. We speak accordingly of a Pauline, a Petrine, a Jacobine and a Johannine theology in the New Testament. These, of course, must be reduceable to a common organic system of truth; but among themselves they differ, and each must be studied by itself before they can be compared and treated as parts of a common whole.

St. Paul is the special apostle of Protestantism. The Reformers went back, or believed that they went back, to the teaching of St. Paul in regard to the doctrines on which they differed with the authorities of the Catholic Church. But the Reformers themselves were not free from the influence of Catholic tradition in the study of St. Paul. They read Paul in the light of St. Augustine. They accepted Augustine's doctrines of sin and grace and read them into St. Paul, but then refused to draw the conclusions which the Catholic Church had drawn practically in its ecclesiastical system. It is only in more recent times that the influence of Augustine in the study of St. Paul has been broken. Such writers as F. W. Farrar, A. Sabatier, George B. Stevens, Professor Beyschlag, and a host of German theologians, have studied Paul independently of past traditions, and no longer find in Paul the "hard doctrines" which the older Protestantism had inherited from Augustine.

It is to this class of theologians that Professor Bruce belongs. While more conservative than some of the writers whom we have mentioned, Professor Bruce belongs to the modern school

of Christological and historical theology ; and his interpretation of St. Paul is determined, not by the idea of divine sovereignty or election, but by the idea of Christ as the revelation of the divine love and grace looking to the salvation of all men. The hard system of absolute predestination, involving a double decree of election and reprobation, which Calvin declared to be a *decretum horrendum*, used to be supposed to have an impregnable foundation in the writings of St. Paul, and to be opposed to this system was believed to be equivalent to opposition to the very Spirit of God. But now, thank God, that spell is broken, and the number of theologians who still find in St. Paul a doctrine so dishonoring to God and so horrible to man is getting continually smaller. Professor Bruce writes on page 321 of the volume before us: "These chapters of the Epistle to the Romans (IX.-XI.) have been, by Scholastic theology, put to uses for which they were never intended. They are not a contribution to the doctrine of the eternal predestination of individuals to everlasting life or death. Their theme is not the election of individuals, but of a people. And the point of view from which the principle of election is contemplated is historical. \* \* \* But still more important is it to note that in these chapters election is not conceived of as an arbitrary choice to the enjoyment of benefits from which all others are excluded. Election is to *function* as well as to favor, and the function has the good of others besides the elect in view. \* \* \* It is unnecessary to point out that this view is in accordance with the uniform teaching of Scripture, and very especially with the teaching of Christ, in which the elect appear as the light, the salt and the leaven of the world. It is a vital truth strangely overlooked in elaborate creeds large enough to have room for many doctrines much less important, and far from sufficiently recognized, as yet, even in the living faith of the Church, though the missionary spirit of modern Christianity may be regarded as an unconscious homage to its importance."

This quotation may serve to give the reader an idea of the manner and style of Professor Bruce's work. It indicates his standpoint in relation to one of the crucial questions concerning St. Paul's thinking. The book before us is in general harmony with this standpoint. And in our opinion this is a far juster interpretation of St. Paul than is the Augustinian and Calvinistic view, which has been in the habit of parading itself as the only orthodox doctrine of Christianity.

It only remains to add that the volume under notice is not in the proper sense a commentary ; it is not exegesis, but the result of exegesis, that we have in this work. It is a systematic representation of the mind of St. Paul based upon a careful exegetical study of his writings. The book, accordingly,

is comparatively easy reading ; and we recommend it to those who are interested in the progress of theological thought.

W. R.

**THE BOOK OF TWELVE PROPHETS :** Commonly called the Minor. By George Adam Smith, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow. In two Volumes. Vol. I.—Amos, Hosea and Micah. With an Introduction and a Sketch of Prophecy in Early Israel. New York, A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1896. Price, \$1.50.

This is a highly interesting volume. Its author, Dr. George Adam Smith, in his Exposition of Isaiah, which appeared among the earlier volumes of the "Expositor's Bible," showed himself to be possessed of such qualities of scholarship, fairness, historical imagination and enthusiasm for his subject, that his exposition has been generally acknowledged as most instructive and valuable. The same qualities characterize the present volume, which forms part of the same series. The work is the result of exact critical study and is based on thorough examination of the entire text in the light of the ancient versions and of the best modern criticism. It consists of a general introduction to the Book of the Twelve Prophets and of expositions of the prophecies of Amos, of Hosea and of Micah. In the introductory chapters, the Book of the Twelve, the Prophet in early Israel, the Eighth Century in Israel, and the Influence of Assyria upon Prophecy, are considered. The treatment of all these subjects is very brilliant and scholarly. The same may be said of the expositions which follow and make up the body of the volume. They are all exceedingly lucid and satisfactory. They bring vividly before the mind of the reader the prophets of whose utterances they treat, and throw much desirable light upon their prophecies. No one, we think, can read the volume without delight and profit. It will undoubtedly add to the author's reputation as an expositor and to the value of the series of which it forms a part. We heartily commend it to all our readers as a book worthy a place in every Bible student's library.

**MORAL LAW AND CIVIL LAW :** Parts of the Same Thing. By Eli F. Ritter. New York, Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati, Cranston & Curtis. 1896. Price, 90 cents.

The author of this small volume, we infer from what he says in the preface to it, is a member of the legal profession. His purpose in writing it has been to aid in determining definitely the meaning of morality and moral character, concerning which he claims many persons seem to have very indefinite ideas. Among the subjects especially discussed in the book are the law of public necessity, the nature of morality and of immorality,



the relation of morality to legislation and to common law, the growth of law, and the necessity there is for suppressing that which is evil and promoting that which is good. The conclusion at which he finally arrives is: "There can be no safety for any people or government outside of sound legal principles. There can be no sound legal principles unless founded upon morality." Because of the truth set forth in the latter of these statements, he holds that moral law and civil law are parts of the same thing. The book is well written and will repay study.

**BAPTISM AND FEET-WASHING.** By Rev. P. Bergstresser, D. D., Author of "Vain Excuses Answered," "Waynesboro' Discussion," etc. Philadelphia, Pa., Lutheran Publishing Society. 1896. Price, \$1.00.

In 1879 Dr. Bergstresser engaged at Waynesboro', Pa., in a discussion concerning the Mode of Baptism, the Subjects of Baptism and Feet-washing. Two thousand copies of this discussion were published, but the edition was soon exhausted. The present volume is an outgrowth of this discussion. In it, however, the propositions discussed are more fully treated than they were in the debate referred to. The book is written in a clear and forcible style, and its arguments are generally strong and convincing. Its author on every page shows himself to be thoroughly acquainted with the subjects he discusses. Those who are interested in knowing what the Scriptures really teach concerning the mode and subjects of baptism and the meaning of feet-washing will find this a really helpful volume. It is a work which deserves to be widely circulated and read, and the careful study of which cannot fail to result in good.

**GERHARD'S SACRED MEDITATIONS.** Translated from the Latin. By Rev. C. W. Heisler, A. M. Philadelphia, Pa., Lutheran Publication Society. 1896. Price, \$1.00.

This is a new translation of the *Meditationes Sacræ* of Johann Gerhard, the eminent Lutheran theologian. The work was first published in Latin in 1606. On account of its superior merit it was speedily translated into German, and later into most of the languages of Europe. An English translation by R. Winterton appeared in 1631 and passed through many editions. This new translation runs very smoothly and will no doubt make the work more acceptable to English readers of our own time. As a devotional manual it properly ranks with the well known "Holy Living and Dying" of Jeremy Taylor. It is made up of fifty-one meditations on as many different subjects. All of these meditations are full of religious fervor and spiritual insight. They are admirably designed to beget a devotional state of mind and to promote a truly spiritual life. The book is one that should find a place in every Christian family.



**THROUGH THE ETERNAL SPIRIT: A Biblical Study on the Holy Ghost.** By James Elder Cumming, D. D. Fleming H. Revell Company, Chicago, New York and Toronto. 1896. Price \$1.50.

Among works treating of the person and work of the Holy Ghost this occupies a place in the foremost rank. It is the production of a scholarly minister of the established Church of Scotland, who is distinguished because of his ability and spiritual-mindedness. In preparing this treatise he says in his introductory pages: "My object has been to present the whole teaching of Scripture in a short compass, and in a clear and methodical order, so that all may find here not only the conclusions come to by the author, but materials gathered by means of which every reader may test the accuracy of these and form his own judgment." It is, accordingly, a clear, able and complete presentation of the Scripture teaching concerning the Holy Ghost, and not a subtle metaphysical effort to explain the inexplicable. No one, therefore, can read it without profit. It has well been said of it: "It is profound enough for the most thoughtful, yet it is so lucid and interesting as to be understood and enjoyed by the youngest disciple." It ought to have a place in every minister's library, and deserves to be carefully studied by every religious instructor.

**ON SERMON PREPARATION: Recollections and Suggestions.** By the Bishop of Ripon, the Dean of Norwich, the Dean of Canterbury, Archdeacon Sinclair, Canon Tristram, Prebendary Webb-Peploe, the Rev. H. C. G. Moule, the Rev. F. J. Chavarre, the Rev. W. H. M. H. Aitken, the Rev. A. J. Harrison, the Rev. H. Sutton and the Rev. S. R. Buckland. New York, Macmillan & Co., 66 Fifth Avenue. 1896. Price, \$1.00.

This volume consists of an introductory paper and of eleven articles which were originally published in the columns of the *Record*. The authors of these articles, who are all distinguished preachers of the Church of England, were in each case invited to explain their own method of Sermon Preparation. This they did in the different papers here bound together, and the result is a very interesting and instructive book. Students for the ministry can scarcely fail to be benefited by reading it and making a study of each paper. Those already in the ministry will also find it deserving of their attention. It is always entertaining and profitable to be told by eminent men how they have achieved success in their particular calling.

**THE ART OF READING AND SPEAKING.** By James Fleming, B. D., Vicar of S. Michael's, Chester Square; Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen. Edward Arnold, London, 37 Bedford Street; New York, 70 Fifth Avenue. Price, \$1.00.

It is a very desirable thing to be a good reader and speaker. To become such, however, requires knowledge and practice. To furnish the necessary knowledge, and thus prepare the way for

successful practice, is the purpose of the present volume. And this it does in an admirable and a satisfactory manner. The work is not a professional manual of elocution, but, what is much better, a practical guide for self-culture by one who himself is a cultured and efficient reader and speaker. In his book he only offers the experience of more than thirty years spent in learning for himself the art of which he treats. On the very threshold of his subject he protests with all his might against "the tricks and quackery of elocution." To teach these he claims "would be to offer nostrums, not cures." What he wishes to do is "to make none artificial or stilted, but to help all to be natural and real." Hence his work can scarcely fail to be of real service to those who follow its instructions. It is a truly valuable work, and we heartily commend it to the attention of all our readers.

**THE STUDENT'S LIFE OF JESUS:** By George Holley Gilbert, Ph. D., D. D., Iowa Professor of New Testament Literature and Interpretation in Chicago Theological Seminary. Press of the Theological Seminary, Chicago. 1896. Price \$1.50.

This Life of Jesus differs from the great majority of works on the same subject that have been published during the present century in that it has been prepared to meet especially the wants of students. It does not seek to discuss in detail the teachings of Jesus, or to set forth the devotional lessons that may be drawn from His life, but only to acquaint the reader with the facts thereof as directly and clearly as possible. It is accordingly compact and predominantly critical in character. It begins with an introduction which treats of the sources of the life of Jesus. This is then followed by seventeen chapters relating to the various events of Jesus' life, the first chapter being devoted to the consideration of the Supernatural Conception, and the last to that of the Resurrection and the Risen Christ. The work throughout is highly instructive and interesting, and fully up to the times in scholarship and critical knowledge. The author in his preface very truly says: "A believer in Christianity may investigate the life of Jesus as scientifically as an unbeliever. One fact, among others, which justifies this conviction, and which is sometimes overlooked, is this, that for the Christian, the risen and reigning Lord, who is actually conquering the world, is infinitely greater than the written gospel. The power of Christianity is His spiritual presence, not the inspiration or infallibility of the story of His earthly life. Our faith does not stand or fall with these things. The essential claims for the gospel are daily established by the deepest experience of millions of souls. So the Christian, whose life rests not upon any alleged quality of the gospel, nor even

on the written gospel itself, but whose life consists rather in a personal relation to the living Lord, is, to say the least, as well able to investigate the documents of Christianity impartially as is the unbeliever." Such investigation we have in the volume before us.

**THE MAKING OF PENNSYLVANIA: An Analysis of the Elements of the Population and the Formative Influence that Created One of the Greatest of the American States.** By Sydney George Fisher, B. A. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company. 1896. Price, \$1.25.

This is a highly interesting and readable volume. In a graphic and entertaining manner it describes the different elements of the population that entered into the making of Pennsylvania, and the influence which they respectively exerted in forming the character of the State. The book is divided into eleven chapters. Of these the first eight treat of the different classes of persons who originally settled the State and whose descendants still make up the larger part of its population. The account which is given of these different classes is notable because of its general fairness and substantial correctness, although not entirely free from errors. The three concluding chapters treat of the early development of science and the mechanic arts within the bounds of the State, the Connecticut invasion and the boundary disputes with Maryland and Virginia. They call attention to some things which will be new to not a few persons. The book should have a wide circulation, especially in the State whose making it portrays.

# THE REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW

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## I.

### PAUL'S DOCTRINE OF ELECTION IN ROMANS IX.—XI.

BY REV. W. RUPP, D. D.

These chapters contain a philosophy of history, rather than an account of the eternal destiny of individual souls. The question which confronted the apostle, and which his Jewish and Judaizing opponents continually forced upon him, was how he could explain the fact that the Jews, the people of the covenant, as a body rejected the Gospel, while the Gentiles were accepting it and coming into the fellowship of the Christian Church.\* Did not this prove either that God had broken His covenant promises

\* According to some commentators this is the central question and the leading theme of the Epistle to the Romans. There were three main points involved in the controversy between Paul and his opponents. The first was the significance of the Mosaic law in relation to the Gospel, the second the legitimacy of Paul's apostleship, the third the admission of the Gentiles into the Messianic kingdom. The first of these subjects is discussed in the Epistle to the Galatians, the second in those to the Corinthians, leaving the third to be discussed in that to the Romans. This subject, accordingly, was first in the mind of the apostle when he began the composition of this epistle, and the epistle was written mainly with a view to the discussion of it. But in the execution of his plan the apostle devoted the greater part of the epistle to the consideration of other themes, especially those connected with the great subject of justification by faith. Logically this is not an impossible view. Many a sermon is written, as every preacher knows, for the purpose of advancing a thought to which not the largest amount of space is devoted.

to Israel or that Jesus was not the Messiah? Israel was the people of Jehovah. He was their Father; they were His children; although these expressions do not in the Old Testament denote the same tender relation as in the New. But to Israel pertained the promises of the Messiah and of the Messianic kingdom. This thought occurs everywhere in the Old Testament, and is acknowledged in 9:4, 5 of our epistle. Now, in breaking down all distinctions between Jews and Gentiles, and admitting the latter on equal terms with the former to the blessings of the Messianic salvation, was there not a disregard of the ancient covenant? Has not Jehovah, on the supposition that Jesus is the Messiah, and that He receives Gentiles into the Messianic kingdom, while the Jews as a body remain without, proven unfaithful to His covenant promises? Has not God's word, in this case, been made void? This is the question to which the apostle furnishes an answer in these three chapters.

The answer in general runs as follows: God's purpose in the election of Israel has not changed, and He has not broken His covenant. There is, however, a discrimination in the election itself, according to which some are preferred to others; which discrimination applies to the Jewish people in their individual as well as in their collective relations. As the body of the Jewish people has been preferred to other peoples, so within the Jewish people some individuals have been preferred to others. And this law of election now is asserting itself in the manner in which individuals and nations come into the Messianic kingdom. According to this law a *remnant* are chosen as heirs of this kingdom, while the rest are passed over. This election, however, is only a temporary historical and economic arrangement, which looks to the largest beneficial results and to the salvation of the largest number in the end. This is in accordance with God's universal method of dealing with men, as is often illustrated in the history of Israel itself. The election is an election of some unto historical privileges and functions, which are to be enjoyed and exercised for the benefit of all. Hence the preterition of Israel at present and the preferment of the Gentiles does not in itself mean dam-

nation for any, but rather salvation for all men. In the infinite wisdom of God the partial hardening of Israel now is intended first to subserve the conversion of the Gentiles and ultimately the salvation of all Israel. The ultimate outlook of the Christian economy is not the eternal perpetuation of a hard and dreary dualism of election and reprobation, but the universal salvation of all mankind in diverse degrees and forms of glory.

The apostle begins his treatment of the subject by saying, 9 : 6, that the word of God concerning Israel's election has not failed, *ἔχπεπτωκεν*, *fallen to the ground*. Though the majority of the Jewish people have not come into the enjoyment of the blessings of the Messianic kingdom, the election of Israel still stands. But all are not real Israelites who are natural descendants of Israel. God promised Abraham that his seed should be like the stars of heaven for multitude, and that it should be for a blessing to all nations. But among the seed of Abraham are counted only the descendants of Isaac, the child of promise; not those of Ishmael. And again of the posterity of Isaac only the descendants of Jacob are included in the promise, while those of Esau are excluded. These are well known historical facts which the Jews could read in their own sacred scriptures. God there shows Himself to be sovereign in preferring and rejecting, according to His own good pleasure and purpose, individuals and nations as the historical bearers of the idea and power of His kingdom. So that the prophet may be able to say in Jehovah's name, "Isaac I loved, but Esau I hated;" a sentence, however, which, according to Paul's apprehension, means no more than is affirmed in the statement made to the mother of Jacob and Esau that "the elder shall serve the younger" (Gen. 25 : 23), and consequently has nothing to do with the eternal destiny of these persons as individuals. It is doubtless true that in this election to historic privileges regard is had to the peculiar individuality of the persons chosen. But, then, this peculiarity itself depends not merely upon human action and will, but upon a divine agency exercised in the generation and development of individuals—upon the general arrangement and government of the world in which individ-

uals are born and educated; so that before the children were born, or had as yet done anything, either good or bad, it could be said of Esau and Jacob that "the elder should serve the younger."

If, then, this method of discrimination has been the manner of God's dealing with men in the historical development of His kingdom in the past, it is nothing new or strange that it should be so also now, and that within Israel itself a difference should be made between elect and non-elect, the former—the elect remnant—pressing into the Messianic kingdom, while the latter, the non-elect, are sullenly standing without. While in one view, as we shall see hereafter, it is their own fault that they are standing without, yet in another view it is the consequence of an elective agency of God in history. But if so, is not then God unjust? If in history and providence He shows His favor to men in different degrees, exercising kindness towards one by making him a means for the immediate manifestation of His grace, and selecting another as an instrument for the manifestation of His severity and power, is He not, then, unfair and unjust, and has He a right still to find fault with men for being what they are? In answer to this question the apostle uses his famous comparison of the potter and the clay, 9: 20, 21: "Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why didst thou make me thus? Has not the potter a right over the clay, from the same lump to make one part a vessel unto honor, and to make another unto dishonor?" For the purpose for which it is intended the comparison is appropriate. If the intention had been to show that God can, without cause, and yet rightfully, doom a moral being to endless misery, the Christian reason would properly demur; but if the intention is simply to show that God has a right to use men and nations as they are best fitted, by their constitution and character, to be used in the on-going development of His world-plan, then there certainly can be no objection. The Hottentot has no right to complain that God made him a Hottentot and not a white man, and that he enjoys only the endowment and privileges of a Hottentot, and not those of a white man. The dog has no right to



complain that he is a dog, and not a man; nor has man a right to complain that he is not an angel. But a creature would have a right to complain if it were to be treated in a manner not in accordance with its nature and capacity. If a creature were made with a nature fitting it to live in the fire, like the fabled salamander, then for that creature it would be no hardship to live in the fire. But if a man were to be compelled to exist in the fire, that would be an atrocity which no good being could approve. The Hottentot has no right to complain that he is not a Caucasian; but if the Hottentot whose soul is made for happiness were, without any fault of his, to be consigned to endless torment, that would be an injustice which no power of a God could cause to appear right. Paul never thought God capable of doing so unreasonable, so atrocious a thing. The suggestion that there is unrighteousness with God he repels with his energetic *μὴ γένοιτο*, *perish the thought*, 9: 14. And how, then, could he have supposed that God made any souls for damnation in order to the enhancement of his own glory? A God who could do that would not be a good God, and could not be supposed to be capable of any glory. And that men in considerable numbers, and good men too, have ever been willing to believe the contrary only shows how prone they are to yield their reason to dead tradition and blind authority. But that Paul should ever have been made responsible for such a doctrine was an act of injustice that was scarcely equalled by any act committed against him by his Judaizing persecutors. Had he known that his doctrine of election would ever be interpreted in this way, it would doubtless have been a source of affliction to him that would have been worse than that legalistic preaching of the Gospel of which he complains in Phil. 1: 17.

Paul was not thinking at all of men's eternal destiny when he made use of that comparison of the potter and the clay, but only of their position and influence in the temporal development of the kingdom of God. And he is thinking of no more than that in the sentence which follows, 9: 22-24: "What if God, willing to show His wrath and to make His power known, endured



with much long suffering vessels of wrath fitted unto destruction, in order that He might make known the riches of His glory upon vessels of mercy, which He before prepared unto glory, even us, whom also He called, not only from among the Jews, but also from among the Gentiles?" The sentence is not complete. To the protasis there is no answering apodosis. What would the apodosis have been if it had been expressed? We can only conjecture; but we believe that it would have been something like this, that it is perfectly right and consistent for God so to act. He is violating no principle of right, but is in fact promoting the salvation of all. The restrained exercise of wrath directed against the vessels of wrath has not its end in itself, but in the salvation of the vessels of mercy, and must cease when that end has been accomplished. The proposition contained in verse 23 is a subordinate clause connected with the preceding clause by the conjunction *ἵνα*, and denotes the purpose of what is affirmed in that clause.\* But what is affirmed in that clause is that God, because He wished to manifest His wrath and make known His power in the case of Israel, as once He did in the case of Pharaoh, held back in much long-suffering His punishment, or the display of His wrath, from the vessels of wrath prepared for destruction, so that the manifestation in the end might be the more striking. And now this long-delayed and self-restrained manifestation of God's wrath, which has at last been accomplished in the rejection of Israel, has for its purpose or end that He may make known the riches of His glory in the salvation of the vessels of mercy—that is, the persons chosen unto the blessing of the Messianic kingdom from among Jews and Gentiles.

\* The Textus Receptus and the English versions, both Common and Revised, insert a *καὶ* before *ἵνα* in verse 23, making the two clauses of which the sentence consists coördinate. Westcott and Hort, on the contrary, following the authority of the Codex Vat. and of the Vulgate, omit the *καὶ*, making the sentence beginning with *γνώπῃ* dependent upon the preceding and expressive of its purpose. Manuscript authority would seem to favor the retention of *καὶ*; and so also would the familiar law relating to the preference of the more difficult text. When, however, the more difficult text *makes no sense at all*, as to our mind seems to be the case here, then we believe that the law may properly be disregarded; and we, therefore, have no hesitation in accepting Westcott and Hort's text.

The vessels of wrath here spoken of are, of course, the unbelieving and hardened portion of the Jewish people, who have rejected the Gospel. They have become vessels of wrath, or instruments for the manifestation of wrath, partly through their own fault, as we learn from 11: 20, where we are told that the natural branches, the native Israelites, were cut off because of their own unbelief. But they have become vessels of wrath in part also by the elective purpose of God to manifest His wrath and make known His power, which has long been working in history. In some sense, then, it was God that has made them vessels of wrath. But what does *wrath* here mean? Evidently it can mean no more than what is meant by *dishonor* in the comparison of the potter and the clay. But this is something relative only—honor in a lower degree—not the absolute opposite of honor. Or we may say that by *wrath* can be meant no more than what is meant when it is said that God *hated* Esau; which, as we have already seen, signified only that he, as the elder brother, should serve the younger; that is to say, that historically Edom should be less highly favored than his brother Israel. So the Jews now as unbelieving vessels of wrath are in a world-historical and world-soteriological view less highly favored than the believing Gentiles. But this decides nothing in regard to their eternal destiny; or, at least, it does not decide the question of their eternal salvation. But it is said that they are prepared or fitted for *destruction*—κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν. What, then, does this phrase mean? Prof. J. H. Thayer, in his Lexicon, says that the vessels fitted unto destruction are “men whose souls God has so constituted that they cannot escape destruction.” But what is destruction, ἀπώλεια? The word is used nowhere else in the Epistle to the Romans, and in but three passages of Paul's later epistles, none of which throws any light upon its meaning. We are, then, directed to other parts of the New Testament for its signification. Now it happens that the word in its kindred verbal form, ἀπόλλυμι, is often used in all parts of the New Testament. In the active voice it means to *ruin*, to *destroy*; in the middle and passive, to *be ruined*, to

*perish, to be lost.* In Matt. 10 : 6, Jesus directs His apostles to go and preach to the *lost* sheep of the house of Israel, τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα. In Luke 19 : 10, He says that the Son of Man came to seek and to save that which was *lost*, τὸ ἀπολωλός. And of the prodigal son in the parable it is said, Luke 15 : 24, 32, that he was dead and is alive again, and that he was *lost*, ἀπολωλός, and has been found. We see, then, that to be in the condition of an ἀπολωλός, or to be in the state of ἀπώλεια, is not to be in an entirely hopeless condition, for it is a condition in which salvation is still possible. When *we* speak of persons being *lost* or of having *perished*, we usually understand eternal or endless and hopeless damnation ; but that is not the sense in which the word is used in the New Testament, when it refers to the state of the soul at all. The ἀπολωλός is for the present, of course, in an unfavorable or unhappy condition ; but the whole economy of redemption is still directed towards getting him out of this condition into a state of salvation.

We see, then, that the vessels of wrath prepared for destruction are by no means necessarily doomed to eternal damnation. Their condition, relatively to the vessels of mercy, is for the present, of course, an unfavorable one. They are left standing without, while the more favored ones from among Jews and Gentiles are called into the kingdom of God. But their condition is not an irreversible condition ; and it will be reversed when its purpose shall have been accomplished. That purpose is the conversion of the Gentiles ; and until that is accomplished, the Jews are set aside, while the main stream of Christian history flows in the channel of Gentile nations. This, however, is not a circumstance implying a change in the divine counsels at the time when the Messianic kingdom is set up. On the contrary it was already foretold in the Old Testament Scriptures ; so that the Jew could not pretend that the idea was subversive of the revelation of Jehovah. A number of predictions in which this idea is involved, is quoted by the apostle in 9 : 25-33. The substitution of Gentiles for Israel is intimated, for instance, in Hos. 2 : 23, where the prophet says, in the name of Jehovah : " I will have mercy

upon her that had not obtained mercy; and I will say to them which were not my people, Thou art my people; and they shall say, Thou art my God." So the rejection of the major part of Israel and the salvation of a remnant only the apostle finds predicted in Isa. 10 : 22, where the prophet, speaking of a return from captivity, says, "For though thy people be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them shall return."\* So, then, the substitution of the Gentiles for Israel in the privileges of the kingdom of the Messiah is in accordance with a divine plan which was already announced in the Old Testament, and ought, therefore, to occasion no surprise.

In the execution of this plan, however, God is not acting arbitrarily and without reason. Why is it that the Gentiles have been preferred to Israel? The apostle answers that it is because, while they were not following after righteousness in their own way, they obtained the righteousness which is of faith; while Israel, which was pursuing after a law of righteousness, did not arrive at the law, nor attain to the righteousness of faith. But this again happened according to a prophetic utterance. They stumbled at the stone of stumbling of which Isaiah speaks (28 : 16): "Behold I lay in Zion a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence, and he that believeth on Him shall not be put to shame." But the Jews were not able to believe. The mind of Israel had become so fixed in legalism, the spirit of legalism had become so much a second nature of the Israelite, that when the Gospel of free grace was preached to him, he *could* not accept it. A righteousness which has its root in faith and not in law, that is, a righteousness whose essence is remission of sin without any legal ceremony, and whose distinguishing quality is love, was a thing which the Jew could not understand. The Jewish mind was fixed in the idea that the law was something superior even to

\*In quoting these and other predictions from the Old Testament the apostle does not follow closely either the Hebrew text or the Septuagint translation. He doubtless often quotes from memory, and sometimes gives a turn to the words quoted which could not have been in the minds of the sacred writers. That anxiety about literal accuracy of quotation which results from the doctrine of verbal inspiration the apostle did not feel.

the Almighty Himself. That strange collection of legal ordinances, which made the life of the Jew so artificial and stilted, and which made the Jew himself an object of amazement and derision to other nations, was believed to be something so wonderful that the Almighty Jehovah Himself was obliged to spend a portion of each day in the study of it. This absurd superstition was believed in by the Jew with all the intensity of his fervent oriental nature. It was an hereditary superstition, which had come down through many centuries, and which was fed and increased from time to time by the events of Jewish history. It was the reformer Ezra who first gave to the Jewish mind this legalistic direction, and transformed the freer and more flexible Jehovahism of the prophets into the dark, stern, hard, legalistic Judaism which we learn to know from the pages of the New Testament. This hard, legalistic Judaism was a growth of more than four centuries of time, and had its roots in the very reformation of Ezra and Nehemiah, which once probably saved Israel from absorption by the heathen. Need we wonder, then, that the Jew as a rule was not able to receive the Gospel? We, who know something about the tenacity of hereditary traditional ideas and beliefs in the domain of religion, need not be surprised to see how desperately the Jews clung to their law, as if it had been the very foundation of the universe itself. Nor need we be surprised to see St. Paul accounting for the unbelief of the Jew, not merely by reference to his individual will and choice, but by reference to a divine ordination in history. The Jews' rejection of the Gospel had its ground in centuries of perverted teaching. There was in this rejection, of course, also an element of personal determination and personal responsibility in the case of each individual; for no power of heredity and no influence of environment alone can ever account for all that is in a man, and for all that a man may do. There is in every man something original, a personal self, which is more than the product of heredity and environment, and to which the Gospel addresses itself. But in the case of the ordinary Jew the self was so crushed by the all-subduing, all-leveling legalism which everywhere prevailed that

it had positively no power to respond to the Gospel when it came.

This is that *hardening* which forms so prominent a conception in the discussion of these chapters. It is referred to in 9: 18: "So then he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will be hardeneth." The hardening is not merely the result of personal volition, but of divine ordination. As an example of such hardening the apostle mentions Pharaoh. Of Pharaoh it is repeatedly said, in Exodus, not only that he hardened his own heart, but also that the Lord hardened it for him, so that he would not and could not let Israel depart from Egypt. And it should be remembered that, according to the story in Exodus, the hardening influence came from the historial situation and circumstances. For instance, the science of the magicians contributed to the hardening of Pharaoh's heart. And the same hardening influence has now been exercised upon the body of the Jewish people. While the remnant are saved, *the rest have been hardened*, 11: 8. And this has happened according to the pre-intimations of Scripture. In the quotations which follow, in 11: 8, the apostle combines expressions contained in Deut. 29: 4, and in Isa. 29: 10, and says: "God gave them a spirit of stupor, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, unto this day." When we bear in mind this, and similar quotations in the Gospels, for example, Matt. 13: 14, and John 12: 40, it is impossible not to recognize some divine agency in this fatality which has befallen Israel. The apostle Paul certainly recognized such an agency. It is true, of course, that along with this divine agency, the apostle recognized in the hardening of Israel also an element of personal willfulness which made the Jewish people, in some measure, responsible for their unbelief. There was, for instance, the inward testimony of the natural soul to Christianity, which the Jews, in their willfulness, must have suppressed; for we believe that this is what the apostle means when, in 10: 8, he quotes the following sentence from Deut. 30: 14: "The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart;" and then adds: "That is the word of faith which we preach." In the original

the statement referred to the law, and meant, no doubt, that the law was not merely a foreign system imposed upon men from without, but that it was in inward harmony with the moral nature of the soul itself, from which circumstance it receives its strongest sanction. And this, the apostle means to say, is true not only of the word of the law, but also of the word of the Gospel. The Gospel has an ally witnessing to its truthfulness in the nature of the soul itself; and this witnessing, as well as that of the Holy Spirit, which goes along with it, must be willfully suppressed before the Gospel can be rejected. This violence done to the testimony of their own souls was an element in the sinfulness of Jewish unbelief. Then there was the fact also that the Gospel had been preached externally and rejected. Had the Gospel not been preached to the Jewish people, they would have had no sin. Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ, and the word must have its heralds to proclaim it. But to Israel the word has been proclaimed; and this external testimony, too, as well as the internal testimony of the spirit in the heart, has been willfully suppressed. For this the Jewish people of the then-existing generation were, doubtless, to some extent responsible; and this responsibility the apostle plainly recognizes. But then there was, on the other hand, that tremendous power of heredity and of environment, and that irresistible traditional influence, which had been at work for ages, and which weakened the force of individual personality among the Jews more than among any other people above the condition of savages, and reduced to a minimum the element of moral freedom. That legalistic spirit which crucified Christ and rejected the offers of pardon afterwards was present in the infant's blood when he was born; it was in the air which he breathed; it was in all the institutions around him; it was in all that he saw and heard. Thus, then, the forces which made the Jew of the first Christian century an unbeliever, the forces which hardened his heart against the Gospel and caused him to reject it, were forces which had been working for ages in the providence and history by which the Jewish people had been educated and made to be



what they were. And now, if it be true that God works in providence and history, then it must be true that the agency by which the Jew was hardened against the Gospel was in some real sense a divine agency. Paul would have said that it was God who hardened the Jew, giving him eyes with which he could not see, ears with which he could not hear, and a heart with which he could not believe. And our Lord Himself, more than once, used language implying the same conception.

But now this divine hardening, according to St. Paul, was not equivalent to an eternal judgment of damnation. It was a temporary and economic arrangement for a purpose; and that purpose was the ultimate salvation of Jews and Gentiles alike. The apostle contends, 11: 1, that God has not *rejected*, ἀρῶσατο, His people. If his Judiazing antagonists maintained that, according to his teaching, God must have cast off His covenant people whom of old He had chosen for His own possession, and gotten Himself a new people from among the Gentiles, Paul answered, away with that thought, μὴ γένοιτο. That would imply that God was mistaken in His choice and disappointed in the result. This can not be admitted. Therefore, God has not cast off His people whom He foreknew. This truth becomes apparent from two circumstances. In the first place, all Israel has not been unbelieving. I too, says the apostle, am an Israelite; and there has been a remnant left us, according to the election of grace, which embraces, in fact, the core of the whole Israelitish people. It is now as it was in the time of Elijah. When Elijah said that all Israel had fallen away to the worship of Baal, and that he was the only orthodox man left, the Lord told him that there were seven thousand men in Israel who had not bowed the knee to Baal. So now, when it is said that all Israel has refused to accept the Gospel, that is not true, for very many Israelites are Christians. But a second and more weighty consideration in support of the proposition that God has not rejected His people, is stated in 11: 11, to the effect that the apparent fall of Israel is not a real fall, but a stumbling only from which they will ultimately recover themselves. "I say then, did they stumble that



they might fall? Away with the thought." Their stumbling, so far as it is controlled by the divine will, is not to the intent that they may fall so as never to rise again, or that they may be everlastingly damned, but to the intent that by means of their trespass salvation may come unto the Gentiles, so as to provoke them to zeal. But the apostle continues, if their trespass, or fall, has been the means of enriching the world, and their loss the means of enriching the Gentiles with salvation, how much more will be the repairment of their loss when the whole fullness of their number shall be converted? Here it is assumed that Israel's fall, or loss, will not be permanent. They will recover themselves, and their loss will be repaired. But meanwhile, and this is the principal point here, their fall, or their unbelief is promoting the salvation of the Gentiles; and this in turn will have the effect of accomplishing their own salvation by stirring them up to emulation. For if their temporary rejection has been the reconciliation of the world, their reception into favor again will be new life for it, equal to a resurrection from the dead, 11: 15.

The question may here be asked, Why was the temporary rejection of Israel necessary in order to the election of the Gentiles, or how does their fall bring salvation to the Gentiles? This question the apostle Paul does answer for us. Nor would it be an easy question to answer. We may compare it, for example, to the question, Why was the death of Christ necessary to our salvation? Why could not the salvation of the world have been accomplished by the teaching of Jesus, in connection with His moral influence and the coöperation of His Spirit? What necessity was there for the tragedy of the cross? We know the answers which men have given to this question. These answers form theories of the atonement. And these theories have been taken by many for divine revelation itself. But if they were revelation, why are there so many of them, and why are they so contradictory? There are some things that are not revealed; about which we may, at times, not unprofitably speculate, provided only we do not forget that we are speculating, and do not undertake to force our

conclusions upon others as if they were God's own whole and immutable truth.\* Now this mystery of the partial hardening of Israel in order to promote the salvation of the Gentiles, we believe, belongs to these unrevealed things. Paul says, "I would not have you to be ignorant of this mystery, that a hardening in part hath befallen Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles become in." 11 : 25 ; but then he refers only to the fact, not to the explanation of it. At least he proposes no explanation. He throws out a hint, indeed, in 11 : 11, where he intimates that the salvation of the Gentiles will in turn provoke the Jews to emulation. It has, however, now after a history of eighteen centuries, not yet accomplished that result. The Jews have thus far not been favorably influenced by the progress of Christianity among the Gentile nations ; although it must be remembered that the triumph of Christianity is as yet very far from being universal. Perhaps when the Gentile nations shall have been converted in larger numbers, especially the orientals, and when Christianity shall have come to be regarded less as a dogmatical and more as an ethical interest, the effect may be different. But the question may here be asked, why might not the general conversion of the Jews, if that had been possible at the beginning, have stirred the *Gentiles* to emulation, and made their conversion more easy and rapid ? As it is, the influence of Jewish unbelief does not seem to have been in favor of the spreading of the Christian faith, at least not in later times.

We may, however, be sure that the temporary rejection of Israel has not been without great cause in the religious development of mankind. Strange as it may seem that the history of Israel should end in such an extraordinary fatality, it was doubt-

\* We are reminded here of what the Deuteronomist says with evident reference to certain judgments which had befallen Israel : "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God : but the things that are revealed belong to us and to our children forever, that we may do all the words of this law," 29 : 29. Speculation concerning the secret things of God, however, is not unlawful, so long as it is reverent and humble, and in harmony with the truth which is plainly revealed. We may, for instance, not ascribe to God motives and actions which the best ethics would condemn in men, and then appeal to ignorance when pressed by the question how such motives and actions can be consistent with the goodness of God's character.

- 7 less a necessary fatality. Had the Jews as a nation accepted the Gospel, then the Gentiles would not have accepted it. Let us consider for a moment what would have been the effect upon Christianity, if it had been accepted by the Jewish people in a body. For a while such a result seemed not impossible or improbable. When the first storm of persecution was over, there seems to have been a reaction in favor of Christianity among the Jewish people; and when, in the spring of A. D. 58, St. Paul arrived at Jerusalem, there were, according to the report of the heads of the church there, many myriads of believing Jews. But what was the character of their faith? They were all zealous for the law. Their Christianity was but a slightly modified Judaism. It was Rabbinism, Pharisaism, legalism baptised by a Christian name. They continued to insist upon the necessity of circumcision. They continued to adhere to the sacrificial ritualism of the temple; and it was the mistake of Paul's life that once, although it was only for a moment, he allowed himself to be induced to participate in this ritualism, long after he had discovered its utter futility as a religious force among men. These myriads of Christian Jews, moreover, continued sedulously to practice those ordinances concerning food, and drink, and life, which separated them so thoroughly from their Gentile neighbors, and caused them to look upon the Gentiles as no better than unclean dogs. What would have been the result now, if this form of Christianity had prevailed? Could the Gentiles ever have become Christians? Not unless Christianity had from the very moment of its birth been divided into two hostile camps. The Greeks and Romans could never have joined the Christian Church, if the Church had been controlled by the spirit of Judaism. The training which the Jews had received for ages unfitted them as a body for becoming the foundation of the absolute religious society of the world. Hence, while that foundation was composed of an elect remnant, who were Israelites indeed, and not *Jews*\* of the modern spirit, it was necessary that the body

\* The fact has often been noted that in the Gospel of John the term *Jews* is generally used with the connotation of something anti-Christian and evil. The *Jews* are the opponents of Christ and the enemies of the truth.

of the Jewish people should be cut off and cast aside in order that room might be made for the Gentiles. By reflections of this kind we may be convinced that the rejection of the Jews was a necessary condition of the progress of Christianity. Judaism, with its perverse legalism and its inordinate national pride and fanaticism, must be buried under the ruins of its own city and temple, in order that Christianity might succeed.

Nevertheless Christianity had its root in Jewish soil. Its foundation was composed of that *remnant* who were the true spiritual seed of Abraham, and not merely Israelites by carnal descent. But this remnant was related to the whole body of Israel, as the first portion of dough from which sacred loaves are prepared, is related to the whole lump of dough; it makes the whole lump holy. If the first-fruit, ἡ ἀπαρχή, is holy, then the whole lump is holy, 11:15. Or the chosen remnant may be supposed to be related to the whole mass of the people as the root is related to the branches of the tree. If, then, the root is holy, the branches also will be holy. The implication, then, is that the salvation of the chosen remnant, or of the sacred root, will draw after it in time the salvation of the whole body and of all the masses of the Jewish people. This thought is illustrated, in 11:17-25, by the similitude of the good olive tree, some of whose branches are cut off and replaced by grafting in their stead branches of an oleaster, or wild olive tree. Judaism in its true spiritual essence and in its genuine religious souls is the good olive tree. Some of its branches are cut off, and in their place are grafted branches from the oleaster, which are thus made partakers of the root and fatness of the olive tree. These engrafted branches represent the believing Gentiles, who are substituted in the place of the unbelieving Jews in the kingdom of Christ. On the principle of pressing every point of a similitude one could easily raise a difficulty here by observing that the quality of a grafted tree is not determined by the nature of the root, but by the nature of the graft. The grafting of oleaster branches upon an olive tree would not produce an olive tree, but an oleaster. The apostle's point of comparison, however, is simply

this, that the life of the root is the source of the life of the engrafted branches. The root bears the branches, not the branches the root. Consequently the Gentiles, who have been substituted in the place of the rejected masses of the Jewish people, have no reason to be proud, or to exult over the Jews, for after all they get their religion not from a Gentile, but from a Jewish root. It is true in a sense that the Jews were cut off in order that the Gentiles might be grafted in their place. But there are two things to be observed in regard to this : the first is that the rejection of the Jew and the election of the Gentile has its motive in the unbelief of the former and the faith of the latter ; and the second is that this arrangement is intended to be only temporary and not permanent. The Jews were rejected, cut off, by reason of their unbelief, 11 : 20. This unbelief, while on the one hand the consequence of heredity and environment, and so in some sense the consequence of a divine hardening through the process of history, was on the other hand also the consequence of a personal determination and choice.\* The decree of rejection, or of reprobation, was then not an abstract eternal decree, without motive or cause, but an historical judgment based upon the actual moral and religious condition of the Jewish people. It was capable of being reversed ; and, in fact, designed to be reversed when it should have accomplished its world-historical soterological purpose. The rejection of the Jewish people is to last only so long as they continue in unbelief. God is able to graft them again in their own place in the stock of the good olive tree, so soon as they turn from their unbelief and call upon the Lord with a true heart.

And to accomplish this result is God's eternal purpose ; which

\* In this conception we have a solution of the apparent contradiction between the statement contained in 9 : 18, to the effect that a man's lot depends not upon his own will but upon God's favor, and the statement contained in 11 : 20, that the Israelites were rejected because of their own unbelief. The apostle Paul was not a man to be afraid of contradictions. He was too earnest and intense a thinker for that. When he looked at a subject in one point of view, he looked so intensely that sometimes he failed to remember that there were other points of view. This gives to his writings at times an appearance of contradiction ; which, however, is an evidence not of a small, but of a great mind.

in the exercise of His infinite wisdom and power He is sure also to accomplish. "I would not have you to be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye be wise in your own conceits, that a hardening in part hath befallen Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in; *and so all Israel shall be saved*," 11: 25. "For the gift and the calling of God are without repentance," 11: 29. He has chosen Israel to salvation, and some time Israel will be saved. So He purposes the salvation of the fulness of the Gentiles, and some time that purpose will be accomplished. Through all obstacles God is threading His way to the salvation of all men. He can, indeed, not save men in a manner inconsistent with His own righteousness or with men's moral freedom. He can not override the unbelief of the Jew and make him a believer against his will. Neither can He force the Gentile to forsake his superstitions, to renounce his anti-Jewish prejudices, and to be willing to enter into one religious society with the Jew on Jewish terms. But God can use the disobedience of the Jew in order to promote the salvation of the Gentile, and then again the mercy shown unto the Gentile as a means of mercy to the Jew. In a world in which evil has come to be an ubiquitous presence and power, the course of moral development can not be along a straight line, but must be infinitely devious and complicated. If God could walk to the accomplishment of His purposes along a straight line, He would not need to be very wise in order to reach this end. But in a world not only of *free* will, but of *perverted* will, to reach His end with infallible certainty, and yet without any violence or constraint, making the forces of opposition subservient to the attainment of His purposes, that is wisdom worthy of an omniscient being. And that is what God is doing. He is making the very unbelief of one class to be the condition of the conversion of another; and then, again, the mercy bestowed upon this one a stimulation and a spur to faith in that one. "For God," says the apostle, "hath shut up all unto disobedience, εἰς ἀπειθείαν, that He might have mercy upon all," 11: 32.

"That He might have mercy upon all." These notes of uni-

versality in an argument which has been supposed to establish the partiality of divine grace are remarkable, and should not be lightly passed over. When it is said that God has shut up all, Jews and Gentiles, unto disobedience, or unbelief, in order that He might have mercy upon all, that means, that He might by the very unbelief of *some* overcome the unbelief of *all*, and so bring all men into the enjoyment of salvation. Above, ver. 25, it is said: "And so *all* Israel shall be saved." What are we to understand by *all Israel* in this statement? Does it mean merely the individual Israelites who shall be living after the time when the fulness of the Gentiles shall have come in, or does it mean all individual Israelites of all times and places? In the former case we would have to assume that all the innumerable generations which have died in the interim between the first coming of Christ and the conversion of the last Gentile nation have perished everlastingly. And remembering now that their unbelief was in some sense the result of a divine ordination, and that this had for its end the conversion of the Gentiles, then it would follow that, on this supposition, their eternal salvation was sacrificed to the salvation of others. Could we now, in the face of such a supposition, say that there is no unrighteousness with God?\* That this was not St. Paul's meaning, we think, is clear from the whole tenor of his argument in these chapters. These innumerable generations of Israelites who have died in unbelief in order that the Gentiles might obtain mercy are, in Paul's view, not damned. They are still in a salvable condition, and may all be saved when the fulness of the Gentiles shall have come in.

And this "fulness of the Gentiles:" What is the meaning of that? Some would say that we have here to do with generic

\* Schleiermacher holds that such a supposition would be fatal also to the blessedness of the elect. "As in the divine government of the world all things are mutually connected and conditioned, it must be evident that the favorable circumstances which we enjoy are dependent upon the same world-arrangement which has denied similar circumstances to others. Consequently our sympathy with the damned would ever be pervaded by the pain which must accompany the reflection that our advantages are purchased by others' disadvantages." *Der Christliche Glaube*, Vol. 2, p. 550.



conceptions only, and not with conceptions of individuals. "The fulness of the Gentiles," and so also "all Israel," are merely expressions denoting the genus or kind without regard to the individuals of whom the genus is composed. In this sense it might be said, for instance, that the whole *human race* was saved in the Flood, although all men were drowned except Noah and his family. And so, in the same sense, "all Israel," might be said to be saved, while in fact the great majority of the people of Israel might be damned. It is the genus or kind that is saved; and that is the only thing that the divine love has any care for. According to the philosophy underlying this view, individual men are only specimens of the race: for themselves they have no significance or value. But if this were so, then it is difficult to see why individuals should be immortal at all. If it is the "type" only of which nature is careful, then there is no need for the individual beyond this life. But men have a feeling that they are persons destined to an endless existence; and this feeling belongs not merely to the élite, but is common to all men. Hence the pantheistic philosophy, which cares only for the genus, and which destroys the conception of the personality of God as well as of men, can never become the philosophy of mankind. We are sure that this was not the philosophy of St. Paul. When he speaks of the fulness of the Gentiles entering into the Messianic kingdom he means the total number of Gentile personalities, and when he speaks of the salvation of all Israel he means the salvation of all Israelitish persons, past, present and future. This is the prospect of the Gospel which his faith holds out to him. Paul believed that it is the divine intention to save all men; and he believed that the power of the Gospel is adequate to the realization of this intention.

These notes of universality in respect of the intention and reach of the Gospel occur frequently in his later epistles. God our Saviour "willeth that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth," 1. Tim. 2: 4. This idea of the universality of grace is one of the underlying ideas of the Adam-



Christ section of the Epistle to the Romans, 5: 12-21. We quote but one sentence: "So then as through one trespass the judgment came unto all men to condemnation, even so through one act of righteousness the free gift came unto all men to justification of life." The idea runs through this whole section that the saving power of Christ is commensurate with the corrupting power of Adam. Grace reaches as far as sin reaches; only while sin propagates itself through the spontaneity of nature grace must be realized in the way of moral freedom or faith. This equality between sin and grace is affirmed also in the proposition that "as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive," 1 Cor. 15: 22. In what sense shall all be made alive? In a merely physical sense, some have said; that is, in the sense that in the last day the bodies of the wicked will be brought out of the graves through the power of Christ, in order afterwards to be cast into hell. But it would seem that the being made alive in Christ should be as comprehensive a process as the dying in Adam; and if the latter was moral and spiritual, so ought the former to be also.\* That Paul looked for the universal triumph of the moral and spiritual power of Christ seems to be plain also from what he says in Phil. 2:10, where he makes the effect of the exaltation of Christ to be that, "in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth." But to bow the knee in the name of Jesus is to worship God in the spirit of Jesus; and that, of course, implies reconciliation or salvation through the mediation of Christ. Thus, then, the apostle looks for the universal triumph of the grace and power of Christ, by which all things are to be made subject unto God, so that God may in truth be all in all, *πάντα ἐν παῶν* 1. Cor. 15: 28.

It is but fair to remark, however, that some years earlier, when he wrote the Epistles to the Thessalonians, the apostle did apparently not take so hopeful a view of the final success of the Gospel. He then seems to have expected the history of Christianity in its later stages to take on something of a tragic character. Before the end comes, according to the representation of


these epistles, there will be a falling away, an apostasy from Christianity; and there will be a revelation of a man of sin, who will exalt himself against all that is divine, and enthrone himself in the temple of God, setting himself forth as if he were God, 2 Thess. 2:34. The meaning of this is doubtless that, in the last age, there will appear some human individual who will be in the kingdom of evil the exact counterpart of what Christ is in the kingdom of goodness—the anti-Christ, who will be an incarnation of the powers of evil in the world, and will head a vast revolt against God and His kingdom. In this conflict between Christ and anti-Christ the history of the world will reach its culmination; but in the end the victory will be with Christ—a mere triumph of power, however, and not of grace; and then the dead will be raised up, and the saints will be caught up to Christ in the air, to be with Him forever; while the disobedient and unbelieving will be punished with eternal destruction from the face of the Lord and from the glory of his might. The eternal destruction here, *ὀλεθρος αἰώνιος*, is something different from the *ἀπώλεια* of the Epistle to the Romans. The latter is destruction too, or ruin; but it is ruin from which there may be recovery. But the former is eternal, endless, and hopeless destruction—something like what is expressed in Dante's famous inscription over the gate of hell.

This seems to us to be a fair representation of the eschatology of the Thessalonian Epistles; and this view is in evident affinity with the teaching of the Apocalypse, and has ideas in common also with Jewish Apocalyptic literature. But this is no longer the eschatology of the later Pauline epistles. No such scheme could by any means be fitted into the Epistle to the Romans. According to the teaching of this epistle the history of the world is not destined to wind up in the smoke of battle and in the formation of two hostile kingdoms that will be made eternal by the execution of the last judgment. On the contrary, the disobedience of all will be overcome, and God will have mercy upon all. The apostle expects, of course, that history will still have its conflicts. There will at times be moral defeats. There will

be distress. There will be opposition and persecution. There will be temptation and trial. But above all these reigns the Lord God in infinite wisdom and power, who will make every manifestation of evil as well as of good to contribute to the final victory of the Gospel over all souls. There is here no anti-Christ; as also in the later epistles of John the idea of a personal anti-Christ is resolved into the notion of a multiplicity of immoral and heretical tendencies which were at work already in the writer's own age. (Cf. 1, John 2: 18-22.) And there is here no apostasy, but a constant and steady development of the forces contained in the kingdom of God, until all things shall become voluntarily subject to God, and God shall be all in all. It is this glorious consummation of the eternal purpose of divine love, in which God brings under His feet all things, without any injustice, or any violation of creaturely freedom, that inspires in the apostle that sublime ode in praise of the wisdom and knowledge of God, with which he concludes this part of the Epistle to the Romans. "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past tracing out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been His counsellor? or who hath first given to Him, and it shall be recompensed unto Him again? For of Him, and through Him, and unto Him are all things. To Him be glory forever. Amen." (11: 33-36.)

Could Paul, when he wrote that, have thought of an eternal decree of election and reprobation, laying the foundation of an irresolvable moral dualism in God's universe? Could he have supposed that Christianity was going to be a failure with the great majority of mankind? Could he have so praised God's wisdom and knowledge, if he had thought Him to be forever incapable of realizing His eternal purpose of love in the world which He has created, and which He governs? No, that wherein is shown the wisdom of God is not that He has formed an abstract decree of election and reprobation, which He is now accomplishing by mere sovereign might; nor that He has formed an eternal purpose of grace which He is not able to accomplish at

all; but in this rather, that without violating any creaturely freedom, or without exercising any "irresistible grace," and in perfect consistency with the strictest principles of justice. He is able to subdue the disobedience of all men, and to have mercy upon all. This is the wisdom which forms the theme of Paul's admiring eulogy. No method of salvation violating these principles could be the subject of such praise. Indeed, no Christian mind can accept any doctrine of salvation that would violate the eternal principles of justice or set aside the fact of human freedom and moral responsibility. For this reason we cannot accept the doctrine of an eternal predestination of any souls to damnation; and those who do accept this doctrine find it necessary to hedge it around by conditions which largely nullify its meaning; as, for instance, when it is said that the doctrine must not be held in such way as to make God the author of sin, or do away with human freedom. For the same reason also we can no longer accept any doctrine which makes salvation to be conditioned by accidents of time or chance of circumstances. It used to be regarded as good orthodox doctrine that, if of two unconverted persons, one should kill the other, the soul of the murdered man, who had no chance to repent, would at once go into an endless hell; while the murderer might be converted through the help of priests or preachers, and go up into glory when he is hanged. Now if that were true doctrine, we certainly should not know how to hold fast St. Paul's proposition that there is no unrighteousness with God. But that proposition we are bound to hold fast by all means. God is not going to violate His righteousness in the salvation of any human soul. No man is ever going to be made happy in sin. Indeed, the very idea of such a thing involves a contradiction in terms. No man can ever be made happy, or blessed, at all merely by external gift or circumstance. Blessedness is a condition that comes from within, from the moral state or character of the soul; and salvation, as a divine work, is the process, including all the discipline of nature and grace, of providence and history, by which a pure or Christian character is formed. The mercy of which St. Paul



speaks as something that is designed for all men, is not a disposition to make men blessed without regard to character—a thing which would in the nature of the case be impossible—but a discipline conducted by infinite wisdom and goodness, which has for its end the conquest of unbelief and the formation of Christian character as the source of eternal blessedness.

But will this divine discipline be successful with every human soul? Perhaps this is a question of which Paul was not thinking when he wrote the Epistle to the Romans. He was thinking so intensely of the universality of the divine purpose of salvation, and of the infinitude of the divine resources for the accomplishment of this purpose, that for the moment perhaps the thought of a possible failure did not occur to him at all. But success here depends not merely upon the operation of divine grace, but also upon the activity of human freedom. Salvation is a work of divine grace which can be accomplished in men only by the co-operation of their own will. Will all men, then, at last, somehow and somewhere, be induced freely to repent and accept the offer of divine grace? If the human will be free, and if it must forever remain free, is it not possible that it may forever resist the offer of divine grace and so remain forever in a state of perdition? May not the Jew, in spite of all that infinite wisdom and love can do for him, in the exercise of his power of self-determination, forever refuse to acknowledge the Messiahship of Jesus, and so forever remain in the outer realm of darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth? It seems to us that the possibility of this must be granted, though it may be only as an *abstract* possibility. For the fact must not be overlooked that the very thing which gives rise to the possibility of eternal resistance to grace, namely, the continued freedom of the will, must also constitute an eternal possibility of repentance, and consequently an eternal possibility of salvation. To this, however, it may be objected that *character ever tends to become fixed*; and that consequently a point may be reached in moral development where freedom ceases, and where no change will be any longer possible. The good will at last reach a stage where sin will be

impossible, and the wicked where repentance will be impossible. The former part of this proposition must, of course, be admitted. But does that also compel the admission of the second part? For the saints in glory it will be impossible to sin, because they *will* not sin. The ground of this impossibility to sin is in the will itself, which has been filled with its true and proper contents, and not in anything outside of the will. But can the will ever become thus fixed in evil? Can evil ever become the content of the will in such way that the latter can become entirely satisfied with this and rest in it as its good? If so, then where would be the misery of such a state? To maintain this view would seem to be to admit the evil to an equal rank of being with the good. If it be true that, as Augustine said, the soul must ever be restless until it rests in God, then it is, to say the least, difficult to understand how it can ever become absolutely fixed in evil. Besides, the proposition that character tends to become fixed is true, so far as experience goes, only relatively. It is true that within certain definite conditions character becomes virtually fixed; so that within these conditions it may be possible to predict, with a tolerable degree of certainty, how a person of given character will act. But when these conditions are transcended, all such predictions may prove to be entirely faulty, showing that character, especially if it be not yet wholly good, is by no means so fixed that there is no possibility of change. Hence it does not follow that, because repentance is not possible for a soul in this life, it may not be possible in another life and in new conditions. And if possible at all, then how long may this possibility be supposed to endure, and what will be the final result? That is a question to which, it seems to us, no one can give any dogmatic answer.

The opposite conclusion, however, that there is a point of time fixed when repentance and salvation will become absolutely and finally impossible, and when the divine mercy will be withdrawn, has led some Christian thinkers in modern times to adopt the theory of annihilation. The theory of an eternal moral dualism is, in the view of these thinkers, so repugnant to reason that they

prefer to suppose that the incorrigibly wicked will at last be annihilated. This theory does not commend itself to us. We cannot think that God will ever annihilate any of His offspring. To do so would be a confession that He had been mistaken in the creation of them. "The annihilation of the creature either now or at any moment even inconceivably distant," says Fairbairn, "were a confession by the Creator of utter helplessness, an acknowledgment that the universe, or a part of the universe, had so broken down in His hands that He knew no way of mending it but by ending it."\* Rather than adopt this theory we would prefer to assume that God keeps on mending forever, even though there were no prospect of ever accomplishing the task. God as unchanging love can never abandon, whether it be to annihilation or to endless misery, the souls which His love has called into being; that is to say, He can never totally cast off and forget them. For, in the language of Fairbairn, "to abandon souls He loved, even though they had abandoned Him, would be to punish man's faithlessness by ceasing to be faithful to Himself." That cannot be. God must ever be true to Himself and to His own love. He can, therefore, never let an erring, sinning soul alone, but must always exercise His infinite wisdom in order to lead it to repentance, and educate it for eternal blessedness in a degree commensurate with its nature. In doing this He needs to offer no violence to its freedom. There is no violation of freedom in the processes of education. The teacher or parent does not violate the freedom of a child when, by precept, example, chastisement or silent influence, the child's will is trained in the right direction. And so the Father in Heaven does not violate the freedom of His human offspring, if, by all the means which infinite wisdom and knowledge can suggest, He overcomes their opposition, and trains them to what He would have them to be, so that He at last may be all in all. He has ages of ages for the accomplishment of this result; and all that we can say, with our philosophy, is that the result is conditioned by the exercise of freedom on the part of the creature, and that this implies the *possibility* of failure. ✓

\* The Place of Christ in Modern Theology, p. 466.



But it may be said that we have more than philosophy in this case. We have revelation, and that positively predicts a failure of the divine purpose of salvation, if indeed this purpose be universal, in regard to a large number, perhaps even the majority, of human beings. For instance, to quote one of the strongest passages at once, our Lord says that, in the Messianic judgment, *the wicked will go into eternal punishment*, εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον, Matt. 25 : 46. This has been usually understood to mean endless perdition. But κόλασις is not perdition or destruction. It is not equivalent to ὀλεθρος, which Paul uses once, in 2 Thess. 1 : 9. Κόλασις is punishment, chastisement, correction. Punishment is never merely retributive or retaliatory. It is not destruction of the subject, but the infliction of just and deserved pain with a view to saving the subject from destruction. But, it may be said, the punishment into which the wicked go is *eternal*, αἰώνιον. Yes, but this adjective does not by itself denote endlessness of duration. That idea is expressed either by αἰδίοις, or by the repetition of αἰών in the plural: αἰῶνες τῶν αἰώνων, *ages of ages, world without end*. The word αἰών means an age, a period or cycle of time within which a certain process of development runs its course and comes to a relative conclusion. The Messianic judgment comes to pass at the conclusion of the Messianic αἰών, but beyond this there will be other αἰῶνες. And *aionian* or *eternal* punishment is, therefore, not equivalent to *endless* punishment, which would, indeed, be no longer punishment, but mere retribution. In the way of objection to this, however, it may be said that the same adjective is applied to the *life* into which the righteous go; and that if *eternal punishment* is not endless, so neither is *eternal life*. This, however, does not follow. That for punishment, which is a means and not an end, some αἰών may be the last, does not prove that for life also, which has its end in itself, there should ever come a last αἰών. Punishment is not to be placed in the same rank with life. So, then, it would appear that our Lord's sentence in this passage is not in conflict with St. Paul's hope of the final realization of God's universal decree of salvation. Eternal punishment there



✓ may be ; and indeed that very clinging of God with His holiness and love to the impenitent soul, of which we have already spoken, would be to it a source of punishment ; but in the wisdom and mercy of God this punishment itself may become a means of ultimate salvation. Other passages of Scripture bearing upon the subject might be resolved with equal facility.

✓ But it is not our purpose to continue this study any farther. A complete discussion and formulation of the doctrine under consideration would be possible only after a thorough study of every passage in every book of the New Testament bearing upon the subject. The work of the philosophic theologian can only properly begin when that of the exegete is completed. But if we have not been entirely mistaken in our views of the passage which we have made the subject of this paper, we have seen enough to be assured that the hard doctrine which has so often been read here, and which consigns the majority of mankind to absolute and hopeless perdition, has no foundation in what St. Paul has here written. Paul entertained a loftier view of God and a larger hope of man than is possible to any one who holds to the old Augustinian and Calvinistic doctrine of election. ✓ And the homiletic and practical bearings of this loftier view and larger hope must be patent to every reader.

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## II.

### GLADSTONE'S STUDIES IN BUTLER.\*

BY PROF. JACOB COOPER, S. T. D., D. C. L., RUTGERS COLLEGE.

Mr. Gladstone has by the third volume, "Studies Subsidiary to the works of Bishop Butler," put a colophon to his grand service in editing one of the greatest—perhaps the very greatest—book written in the English language. Several of these "Studies" have been published before in the periodicals of the day. Such have been modified more or less to fit the author's present purpose. Others have been added, and the various threads of the whole so deftly interwoven as to make a perfectly compacted web of argument. In this respect Mr. Gladstone consciously or unconsciously imitates his great prototype. For Butler's greatness is manifested most clearly in the masterly marshalling of his materials so as to produce an effect irresistible by their close concatenation. In this he employs the method of the Universe in its combination of an infinite number of parts, each taken by itself, small, and all, if looked upon without regard to their interrelation, presenting only a chaos, yet the elements are so harmoniously united that they form a system, beautiful in its order and overpowering in its effect. So Butler shows the genius that is in harmony with the creative power which formed all things, and the wisdom which directs in the two coördinate spheres of Time and Being.

The religious world will follow with its benediction the labor of love which has incited Mr. Gladstone to this supreme effort of his genius wrought in the maturity of his experience, and the undiminished lustre of his perennial powers.

Complaints have been freely made by opponents of Butler's analogical reasonings of what they term the insufficiency of that

\* The Works of Joseph Butler, D. C. L., edited by the Right Honorable William E. Gladstone, 3 vols., Macmillan & Co., New York and London.

proof for a future life which is given in the sacred Scriptures. It is maintained by those who question the testimony of Revelation, that in a matter of such transcendent importance there should be proof of a character to make doubt or unbelief impossible. It may be pertinently asked: What sort of evidence would secure this result? Could any kind or degree of proof which is used in our daily life affect such a state of mind in those who do not wish to be convinced? Faith, like every other principle of mental action, is partly subjective and partly objective. Hence, if the proof furnished were of a sort which allowed of no alternative, then only one course of action would be possible. The personal element would be obliterated, and the character, no matter how good, formed by inevitable constraint, would not belong to man. Therefore there could be neither virtue nor vice in taking a course forced upon the will by demonstration, were that kind of proof in morals possible. But it is held by the foremost logicians, such as Mill and Jevons, that no proof even for science, which is based on induction, can rise to the cogency of demonstration; that the so-called uniformity of nature is only partial; and, therefore, the conclusions deduced never can rise to absolute certainty. So Hume held that the relation between cause and effect could never rise to higher certainty than observed sequence, and in this view he is followed by Kant. If, then, those who complain that the evidence for a future life furnished by Revelation is not strong enough to convince and will not be satisfied with less than demonstration, they ask for more than can be found in inductive science, more than is possible in any department of knowledge except pure mathematics.

But, grant that such proof could be furnished for the postulates of a future life. It would destroy its object which is to convince the reason by the same kind of evidence which we are compelled to use in all matters of moral or even physical action. Besides, there must be a temper of fairness in order to render any kind of proof availing to influence human character. Grant that we had demonstrative proof for the claims of a future life. This would have precisely the same effect on the intellect of the

unprejudiced that material force has on the will to compel its obedience; for it would leave no room for such choice as is involved in moral freedom. The prison walls which restrain the offender and thereby compel his will to obedience do not, by this process, make him virtuous, or change his purpose to ply his villainous calling as soon as he can escape, or is set at liberty. So demonstrative proof, such as the doubter demands, were that kind of evidence given by Revelation, would be useless. For it would force assent from the fair minded and unprejudiced, yet by a process of constraint which entirely excludes such free action as can generate moral character and make it the subject of rewards or punishments.

But the effect of demonstrative or intuitive evidence which is the same in degree of cogency, is different according to the temper of him who apprehends it. If he be unprejudiced it will force his assent because there is no rational power to resist it. If he be prejudiced he closes both heart and eyes against its reception. He makes his own volition the measure of the truth he will admit and accept. This is a fact in psychology as well established as any in science. The world is full of examples of those who through prejudice, or ignorance resulting from it by refusing to examine the proofs which would convince, reject the clearest rational evidences, and rush on recklessly to moral and financial ruin. While demonstrative proof, therefore, would force assent from the fairminded, and by compelling their action deprive it of moral significance, it would be rejected by those whose wills are determined in advance; and so in either case be fruitless in its effect on character.

Hence we are forced to admit that if such proof as the doubter demands were furnished it would obliterate responsibility in those open to conviction, and make their actions simply necessary. This would exclude the possibility of improving in virtue, and make man a machine as completely as those driven by natural forces. Under this conception there could be neither good nor evil in the world; neither happiness nor misery as their effects, because these involve voluntary ends as the alternatives through

chosen means. Even if there could be Immanent or Mechanical Finality working at each step by a process which compelled assent, its action, like physical causality upon matter would exclude personal responsibility. Under such influences there could be, strictly speaking, neither a system of Optimism nor Pessimism, but only Indifferentism. If this last be the scheme of the universe, and this must be the case if the proof influencing action be such as to compel the will and thus exclude the element of personal choice, it makes not the slightest difference what men do or become. For thought and action can have no influence upon the moral character of the agent, or him who is the recipient; since there is no other than a necessary, a fatalistic connection between them. So neither happiness nor misery is dependent on any course of conduct, and there is neither incentive to virtue nor restraint on vice. This conclusion would, of course lead to blank despair, if there could be any such feeling under a system of indifference. Yet this would be a necessary result from conduct which was rendered compulsory through demonstrative proof; it could be neither good nor bad, and man would be helpless. This view is so absurd that it is not likely that any sane man will embrace it in theory—and none dare to in practice in matters relating to this life. Hence consistency should, and for practical purposes does, exclude such a monstrosity.

Again, if Pessimism be assumed as the controlling principle of the universe there is no need of proof to influence our belief. For whether it be demonstrative and compel our assent, or probable, like that one must act on in dealing with men or the inductions of science, the result is the same. That which seems true is false; for while it appears to lead to good its results are bad only, since, whether true or false, the outcome is sorrow and misery. Hence it is of no avail to try by virtuous and rational action to stem the torrent which is carrying all things inevitably to destruction. This view may be the outgrowth of despair and, therefore, wholly subjective, arising from a disordered mind or a thoroughly perverted nature which measures all things by its own standards. For those only can see all things hastening to de-

struction who find this tendency in themselves; who desire this to be true and bend all their energies to its realization. Momentary discouragement from misfortune, or anger at wrong-doing which has been suffered from our neighbor without justifying cause, has the power of recuperation by the use of reason, and sees the absurdity of denying the existence of the sun because a cloud obscures our horizon. But if Pessimism were indeed true it would be the duty of each to labor with all his might to hasten the catastrophe when all this nightmare of life might be swallowed up in the unbroken sleep of annihilation. Then we would have realized the paradox the worse a man acts the more completely he does his duty. But should the pessimist attempt in earnest to carry out his theory he would unconsciously give his case away unless awakened by the correcting arm of the law. For if he has the power to contribute to the consummation which he wishes so devoutly in theory, then he has the control of his volition in adding to its haste and certainty. But volition involves the idea of an alternative, and this alternative of acting in a very different way from that of hastening the catastrophe of misery. If he can do greater harm and bring more misery and evil on himself and the world he surely can do less, or even the reverse. He can act virtuously; he can increase the happiness by relieving the misery. So by the exercise of that volition which is assumed in his effort to hasten the catastrophe of misery he makes it clear that he does not believe practically in his theory. Thus we see that Indifferentism and Pessimism are both excluded from the possibilities of a moral government, either of this world or one to follow. For there could be no moral character, no good or evil, no happiness or misery, as the result of actions if they were controlled by fatalism which compels to evil, or were coerced by demonstrative evidence which allows no alternative. For, in either case, man would have no responsibility, his actions no moral quality, and therefore no influence on his destiny.

But it may be said that under an optimistic system we find difficulties. The evidence on which we are required to act is not such as to satisfy our curiosity or quiet our fears. When such

momentous interests as our eternal destiny are at stake, there ought to be no ground for doubt and no possibility of going astray. We have difficulties, it is true, and often desire greater light. But the difficulties do not involve absurdities at every step, as those in the other systems. We are not asked to believe statements concerning a future life on less evidence than we must be satisfied with, in matters of daily duty, involving contingencies which we cannot foresee. The uniformity of physical nature is no more certain than that which obtains in the moral world between right doing and the happiness of the agent. Neither do the difficulties render life meaningless nor virtue impossible. Men can at least act rationally according to the revealed system of truth. For they can be virtuous and thereby add to their own happiness and that of the world. They are commanded to relieve pain ; to add to public purity ; and by industry and sober living to increase the public welfare to the full measure of their ability. Their creed is that the fulfillment of the moral law is the fulfillment of the Revealed System. They are commanded to do their duty with the expressed as well as implied assurance that they have the ability of compliance. But under the other systems they are necessary agents, material machines, compelled to act according to an adamant destiny, and therefore not endued with reason or responsibility. Though the believers in the Revealed System may not be able to prove the freedom of action in the case of others, yet they know assuredly that they themselves possess the power of choice to act according to rational evidence. They can demonstrate the truth of this doctrine by their conduct, which of all evidence is the most satisfactory. And the evidence on which they act with reference to a future is the same in kind and degree with that which they are compelled to use if they act in the affairs of the present. For it should ever be borne in mind that a pure and earnest life, such as is required in the Holy Scriptures as a preparation for eternal blessedness is precisely what the highest type of Utilitarianism demands ; so that Bentham and Butler are in this matter in full agreement.

The best Christian is the best citizen ; the most useful life is

that which is most completely illustrated by the Founder of Christianity, who embodied his doctrine in his conduct—"Jesus of Nazareth, who went around doing good." And, what is most to the purpose, this proof is self-evidencing and grows in exact proportion as obedience is rendered. This is the warrant for scientific accuracy where the hypothesis satisfies all the conditions of the present and continues to explain all the facts as further progress is made. Were the proofs demonstrative there would be no analogy between the warrant for our action in the present and that relating to the future, and no assurance that this is a preliminary stage. And there could be no preliminary stage if it were not disciplinary. But it could not be disciplinary if the proof for this future life were demonstrative and permitted no freely chosen alternative. Hence there must necessarily be difficulties to be met with in considering any system of moral government which makes men accountable to a governing Ruler. But we live under some system. We have obtained a foothold in time and occupy a place in the universe of material and spiritual things. From this position we can neither expatriate ourselves nor be driven out. Our duty then is to grope about and discover our bearings. For no doubts, or even demonstrations, to show that we have no hereafter can obliterate the fact that we have a present. Nor will any speculation, however refined, convince us that as we are not endowed with responsibility, or free us from its consequences if we offend against the laws which are found necessary to govern men in civil society and which rest upon this assumption. We greatly desire to know our present bearings and how our conduct will affect our condition now and for time to come. We know beyond the power of sophistry to obscure our conviction or prove the contrary, that we are responsible to our consciences and therefore must give an account before a competent bar of justice for all our conduct. We know by experience that our conduct is the measure both of our inward peace or misery, and in some degree of our reputation and influence with the world. We know that voluntary conduct involves the choice between two alternatives; and that this choice



does not depend on demonstration, since in that case there could be no alternative. For here, just as in algebra or geometry, there is only one view possible. And this excludes the power of choice unless we are too ignorant to comprehend the proof, or wilfully do violence to intellectual convictions, and so arbitrarily reject what we know to be facts. If our conduct depended upon such proof it could have no quality. For it would be compulsory to a reasonable nature and therefore exclude the personal determination which makes it virtuous or vicious. The moral quality of conduct must therefore have its basis on such proof as presents reasons which we can apprehend, and yet permit us to act with entire freedom. For if we are to be judged by our actions they must be *our's*, dependent upon reasons approving themselves to *our* consciences, which must be the tribunals of last resort. Otherwise we could never know for what we are condemned or approved. There could be no transgressions where there was no law, and there could be no law for those who could neither understand nor obey its sanctions. Constraint, either material or logical, would be equally destructive to the idea of responsibility.

This brings us naturally to the question: Are there proofs enough for the sanction of moral law, and therefore for a Lawgiver who will in the end reward or punish, make happy or miserable, those who are subject to his authority? This is the question which is fundamental to all others in life, a question demanding an answer continually as a warrant for our action or endurance. We cannot stand still. Life involves constant activity and requires this to be guided by such evidence as is within our reach. The alternative is not whether we have this or that kind of evidence which we may imagine would be more satisfactory, for we have not the disposal of this matter, since we find our condition with reference thereto settled in advance and entirely irrespective of what unbelief demands as suitable to convince.

The effort has been made to show that evidence to influence responsible conduct must not be such as to force assent, for then we would act through compulsion, and actions which we might

perform under such conditions would not be our's. If then we are to be held accountable we must not be constrained by proof which is overwhelming like demonstration, which forces the intellect *nolens volens*, and leaves no place for deliberative choice. Hence the proof must be such as will convince reason that is fair and open to conviction, not such as is demanded by a temper which absurdly makes its own criterion of proof, contrary to the conditions under which it is placed. The very heart of the matter is clearly this. Is the proof which Revelation affords reasonable? Is it of the same sort on which we are required to act in the relations of this life? For if it be different, either in kind or degree, from that by which we are guided in the affairs of this world, this would destroy the possibility of an analogy which is the natural guide in our inquiries concerning a future life. The demand of those who say that the sole province of Revelation, especially as it is declared to be supplementary to the teachings of the natural conscience, is that it must clear up all difficulties and leave no ground for doubt or anxiety. This demand, however, shows that the doubter requires the very thing which would destroy all possibility of proof from analogy. It would in fact require a proof which, as has been shown, is self-destructive. For if the virtue which fits a soul for a future existence depends on proof different from that it is compelled to use in the preliminary stage, then there could be no preparation; and all this life's work as a discipline would be lost, even if we admit the continued existence of the soul. Thus, the demand of the doubter is absurd in its very terms, and shows his unwillingness to accept any proof which is consistent with the disciplinary state in which man is placed. Hence it may be fairly inferred that no proof which could be given would suffice. For if it were demonstrative it would render the discipline for virtue impossible and destroy its own *raison d'être*. The great Teacher, who knew what is in man—his needs, his capacities, and the possibilities of his present condition—uttered this decisive sentence in answer to those who demanded more proof as a voucher for his doctrines: "If they believe not Mo

and the prophets, neither would they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." That is to say, the proof already given is all that could have any salutary effect on human nature by the discipline of character. For this must be built up by the exercise of reason in directing a choice when alternatives are offered for its acceptance. Hence, though a proof might be furnished which could compel intellectual assent, it could not that which is moral; and, therefore, would not effect any change in the character of those who were determined in advance not to believe. The Divine Master, therefore, pertinently declared that those who are not affected by reasonable evidence, such as is afforded by the Law and the Prophets, would not be persuaded if the veil which covers the unseen world were raised and all the tremendous realities of the life to come were disclosed. If one rose from the dead and unfolded his experiences this would be attributed to sorcery; or if accepted as genuine could have no more effect on character than the constant evidence afforded by virtue and vice as they testify by their tangible effects to the truth of Divine Revelation. The Lord says distinctly that no proof could be sufficient to persuade those who are obstinately prejudiced. This statement is a philosophic as well as a moral truth, and is embodied in the wisdom of the proverb which says that if you convince a man against his will you do not change his purpose or action. The demand made by the Pharisees on our Lord, though not complied with at the time, was in His own time and place literally met in the raising of Lazarus. While this miracle, the very one they had asked for, could not be denied by those who had seen the man dead and buried, and witnessed his resurrection by the command of Christ and now saw him alive and moving about among them, yet this did not change in the least their hostility to the truth. For so far were they from accepting a proof which they could not gainsay, they determined to get rid of the irrefragable evidence by destroying the man who had been raised by our Lord. Prejudice and hostility can close our nature against any proof that may be offered. They can give our nature over to strong delusion, so that we may believe a lie to our own condemnation.

Hence it is undoubtedly true that the proof which is best adapted for the discipline of character through personal responsibility has been furnished. For if we live under a system which encourages virtuous action, and where happiness is the reward of right doing, the means of reaching our destiny must be apportioned to us in such a way as best to secure that result, and is always proportioned to our desire for it. For surely a Master who requires virtuous conduct would not place us under conditions where its attainment is impossible. Had other proof been better adapted it surely would have been furnished unless our Master wished to mock us. Had it been better for us to live without making individual exertions the Power which gave us so much could assuredly, from His infinite resources, give us all that is lacking. If He had given us more happiness for the wish, to be fulfilled before our exertion was employed to produce it; if pleasure consisted not, as the prince of metaphysicians thought\* in activity, but in eternal inaction without the necessity of making any exertion, then we would have been placed in quite another sort of a world than this. We would have been required, not to work out a character under discipline, but furnished with it ready made; with a mind so perfect that it is incapable of improvement, but no sphere for its exercise, since this would be equally needless whether for ourselves or others. The character being already perfect could not be improved; and all being alike, there would be no misery and consequently no need for its discipline for its own sake or others. This might be a desirable state in which to exist; but it is wholly different from the one in which we find ourselves as soon as consciousness awakes to a realization of our position. The conditions under which we are placed show us by the light of nature, the law written in our consciences, that we need to form our character, and have the means within us of doing this. This law has been reinforced by a revelation which is not different in kind, involving substantially the same terms, but enforcing its sanctions by testimony which, even though it were proved untrue

\* Arist. Eth. nich. 1175, A. ἀνευ τε γὰρ ἐνεργείας οὐ γίνεται ἡσυχία.

as an historical fact, is nevertheless true in its correspondence with the constitution of our nature and the experiences of our life. But this very correspondence of the two is a voucher for the claim that they both come from the same source. The correlation of their sanctions is proof that they are meant for the discipline of the same character; and that the two spheres of life to which they relate are coördinates of one system. No stronger moral proof than this could be afforded. Either by itself has as much credibility as that upon which we are required to act in our individual capacity or our relations to our neighbor. Both together, by their testimony, which continues unabated as far as they are permitted to work, prove that there is no limit to their action.

Thus Butler has shown that the proof afforded by nature and supplemented by revelation is the most convincing to a fair-minded inquirer who seeks to know the truth rather than display his ability to interpose doubts. The rôle of the objector is the easiest,\* as well as the meanest, of all ways of displaying one's powers; but on a par with the incendiary, who can destroy the architectural monuments of genius, though he cannot erect even a hovel as a substitute. But every one who is willing to be guided with reference to a future life by such evidence as he unhesitatingly uses in this, finds all he can utilize in the combined testimony of nature and revelation. This proof is unique in the way it is handled in the *Analogy* of Bishop Butler. It does not consist in the several parts of proof taken as isolated, but in their combined effect. In this method he follows the course dictated by reason, but decried by those who would apply the atomic theory to the elucidation of moral questions, and insist that the chain is not stronger than its weakest link. All nature is a chain, a unit of elements which fit into each other, as is evident to him who can grasp the whole in its aggregation. The analogy which we see in the phenomena of nature which constitute them one universe, and the experiences of one person which constitute his individuality, show that they both belong to a system which embraces all things for its life, and the entire extent of time and

\* Plato *Theaetetus*, 178 D. τό γ' ἀμφισβητῆσαι οὐ χάλεπον.

space for its field of action. Had our life been different from what it is, and not revealed to us as correlated to any other; had the evidences necessary to enable us to act rationally been diverse from those which related to another life, then the demand of unbelief for proof of another kind or degree might be valid. But reasoning from the basis of facts as they are, we can well answer those who hold the proof of a future life insufficient, in the words of Pascal\*: Il a voulu se rendre parfaitement connaissable à ceux-la; et ainsi voulant paraître à déconvert à ceux qui le cherchent de tout leur cœur, et caché à ceux qui le fuient de tout leus coeus il tempère sa connaissance en sorte qu' il a donnè des marques de soi visibles a ceux qui le cherchent, et obscures à ceux qui ne le cherchent pas. Here lies the root of the difficulty with unbelief of every sort and degree touching the evidences for the existence of God and the future life of man. Men love darkness rather than light, and therefore will not come to the light nor recognize it when it shines with the clearness of noonday. Hence there is no possibility of convincing such as come to the investigation determined in advance not to believe, and therefore insist on conditions which cannot be fulfilled without changing the principles which regulate the moral universe.

\* Ed. Faugere, II., 151. Ed. Havet, II., pp. 47-48.

### III.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY.\*

BY THE REV. A. S. WEBER, A. M.

No idea has received more emphasis, during the last half century, than that of development. None has more profoundly stirred and stimulated the human mind. Gathering and combining, as it does, into one comprehensive movement, facts and theories which pertain to the physical, mental and moral realms, it has led the march of expanding thought along many, if not all, the avenues of modern scientific progress. It has done this in the face often of bitter opposition, and deep seated prejudice. Crudeness in holding the idea, coarseness in applying it to the study of various problems, seem not infrequently to have wrought mischief sufficient almost to justify the tardy recognition accorded to the idea itself.

As time has gone on the crude and the coarse have, however, been largely eliminated. Growing familiarity with the rational and religious aspects of development has revealed those aspects to be not antagonistic, but harmonious, in their relations. So-called "materialistic tendencies," supposed by some to inhere in the idea, have not undermined the Christian faith, as many were apprehensive that they would. On the contrary, its grounds have been strengthened. One achievement after another, accomplished it may be, in the direct interests of science, has turned out to be of indirect service to the cause of religion. Under the guidance of the idea, results differing very widely in character have been rapidly multiplying, and in this way acknowledgment won for it not only as to the value, but the validity also, of its claims. In every department of human knowledge, from physics to theology,

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evidences of its unmeasured significance, its revolutionizing power, are easily discoverable.

Of these general truths there is a signal illustration in modern psychology. The history of the science, since it has come under the developing power of the idea now under reference, must disclose even to casual examination remarkable progress. There is far greater precision and accuracy in the analysis of the various processes and phenomena of the human mind. There is less ill-siveness, more reliability, about the systematized principles and the developed facts of the science. There is a far clearer apprehension of the nature of mind itself, of the laws of its growth and of the methods of its activity. There is immeasurable gain in the application of results obtained to the conduct of matters educational, in nursery and school, college and university. And there is more successful use made of the science in its new form in the way of studying the numerous social and scientific, historical and philosophical problems now clamoring on every side for solution.

No clearer or stronger evidence of the progress thus indicated could be demanded than that afforded by the changed attitude in which large numbers now stand towards the branch of knowledge which has to do with mental phenomena and the laws by which they are governed. Not so long since there were many who looked upon psychological science as possibly an interesting intellectual pursuit for the few who are given to metaphysical speculations, but for the many the study of it seemed as empty of practical value as it was difficult of personal mastery. Now the science of mind is all but universally regarded as a most important branch of liberal training, a most serviceable factor in qualifying for practical usefulness in life. Of late there has not only been unaccustomed activity in circles long devoted to the study of mind, those circles have been enlarged, their number indefinitely increased. Every man is better qualified, it is now seen, for seizing opportunities and privileges, for discharging duties and responsibilities, by having even though it be but a partial knowledge of what psychology has to teach. The father is richer in



resources, in methods, in efficiency for the bringing up of his children; the teacher for the instruction of those who are to be taught; the employer for dealing with those whom he employs, the statesman for the enactment and execution of the public laws; the lawyer, the juror, the judge, for measuring out justice; the minister of the gospel for preaching the word and administering the affairs of his charge. In a word everyone having a knowledge of the nature of man as a thinking, feeling, willing being; a knowledge of the complexion received by that nature through heredity and environment; a knowledge of the motives under which that nature exercises its powers and develops its strength; and a knowledge of the conditions and limitations of that nature's life—that one has made acquisitions what are now generally recognized as indispensable to the greatest usefulness and the broadest culture of the individual character. Hence the earnest, the widespread public interest is one of the most difficult and complicated of all the subjects towards which the scientific research of our day is directing its investigations, an interest so great that some one has ventured the prophecy that this age, notwithstanding the fact that original minds in all fields are giving increased attention to its questions, will perhaps “be known in the future as the psychological period of intellectual interest and achievement.”

During the period in which this changed attitude toward psychology has been brought about, it is true, the horizon of human knowledge has in every direction been greatly widened. Physicists, under the impulse of strong and laudable ambition to know the secrets of nature, have vied with each other in pressing their explorations farther and farther into her territory. Science after science has arisen and brought its contributions as new practical and beneficent means for enriching the physical, the intellectual, the social resources of our race—as a new impulsion indeed to almost every phase of modern life and civilization. These new conditions and this wider outlook have no doubt contributed somewhat to the deeper appreciation of the value and import of psychology. But the great power in this direction has been exerted by psychology itself, in the higher developed form to which

it has attained. It has stood, with other particular sciences, in the current of modern progress, and under the stress of its pressure has yielded to a transforming power. Out of a science that was old, there has been evolved, or, if it is preferred, developed a science that is new, wider in scope, richer in results, in closer alliance with other science, no longer under the long-borne reproach of vagueness and uncertainty, of doubtful value as a discipline, and of uselessness for practical service. And just in proportion to the development of the new science in these directions has been the increased confidence it has commanded, the deepened attention it has been receiving from ever enlarging numbers of thoughtful people.

This new psychology owes its existence, and the general favor, we have just seen, is now bestowed upon it, to the employment of the modern scientific spirit and method, in prosecuting the study of mental life and attempting the solution of its problems. Like other sciences energetically cultivated at the present time, psychology proceeds under guidance of the idea of development to make minutest analyses, in the inductive and experimental way wherever possible, of all mental phenomena. In its constructive efforts it follows the same guidance along the lines of genesis and growth, believing that the various forms under which the life of the mind comes to expression can all be better understood if traced from their origin, through the process of their "becoming," to what they now are. In other phrase, perception is looked upon as a growth, will as a growth, conscience as a growth, both in the individual and in the race. It follows the same guidance, moreover, in its anthropological and sociological comparisons, striving, as Prof. Ladd has somewhere so aptly put it, "to throw into the recesses of every individual soul the rays of light that shine from many individuals of the same and of other species in the great kingdom of souls."

In distinction from these methods, the earlier psychology had adhered very closely to the method simply of subjective introspection. It was correct in supposing that directly we know just so much of mental life as by self-introspection we can learn from

the phenomena of personal consciousness. But in limiting itself to such subjective observation, it was constantly hindered from reaching results that were adequate and satisfying. The one-sidedness due to individual peculiarities; the difficulty of seizing the particular mental state that was to be observed, and of holding it for a sufficient length of time, separate and distinct from other previous or succeeding states; the uncertainty as to whether two persons saw the same mental fact when speaking in identical terms—these and other similar perplexities made it at once desirable and necessary to supplement the strictly psychological method of observation by that of experiment, and of objective investigation of psychological data. To afford opportunity for experimentation the science of physiology was pressed into service; for the objective investigation referred to, extensive historical and sociological inquiries were placed under contribution.

It is interesting and instructive to follow the application of these new scientific methods in the two directions indicated, and to note some of the results which by them have been won to psychological knowledge. In turning for this purpose, in the first place, to physiology, it is proper to make the preliminary observation, that the experimental examination of the structure and functions of the nervous system, no matter how minute and painstaking it may be, can yield conclusions about the nature of mental activities only by means of inference or analogy. Höffding, the Danish philosopher, to whom modern psychology is so largely indebted, is particularly urgent in his insistence upon this point. "Every explanation," he says, "that physiology is able to give of the functions of organic life may be of service to psychological knowledge. \* \* \* But it must be borne in mind that in the last resort objective psychology always rests on an inference by analogy—subjective psychology alone sees the phenomena themselves face to face. What, we as objective psychologists think we discover of mental life outside our own consciousness, we reproduce within ourselves by means of a sympathy closely connected with analogy. But these analogies may afford indispensable correctives for our subjective observations."

Were the wisdom and bearings of these cautionary words more generally understood and carefully remembered, much of the suspicion with which physiological investigations in the interests of psychological knowledge are now often regarded would be avoided. Only by the exceptional few have such experiments been intended to prove the identity of brain and mind, of the material and the spiritual. . . Not only the eminent authority just quoted, but Wundt and Lotze, Herbart and Lindner, among the Germans, Dewey and Hall, Bowne and James, among the Americans, teach in substance, that whilst physically conditioned upon certain nerve or brain structure, the phenomena of mental life are to be explained, not by physiological, but by psychical data. The mind and the body are the distinct elements which constitute the complex nature of man. The knowledge gained by the method of experimentation with the latter has of itself no value in the way of explaining the activities of the former. "Physiology can no more of itself give us the what or why or how of psychical life than the physical geography of a country can enable us to construct or explain the history of the nation that has dwelt within that country."

The fullest acceptance of these statements does not, however, contravene the idea of value, indefinitely great, attaching to the method of investigation furnished by physiology towards the advancement, the development of psychology. The vast body of literature, known as physiological psychology, would in itself appear to be proof sufficient of this. In the post-graduate course in psychology as laid down by our Alma Mater for students to follow, there are for instance not scores, or hundreds, but actually thousands, of closely-printed and deeply-interesting pages devoted to the consideration of different phases of this single topic. There would not be time in the hour to which we are limited, and in this presence there is no necessity, to detail the specific contributions made according to the records of this literature by the experimental method, to the knowledge of the mental life. We may pause long enough, however, to instance, by way of illustration, a few of the more conspicuous results that have been accomplished.

One of these is the successful analysis of certain states of consciousness that had long been regarded as ultimate, because they were beyond the analytic reach of simple introspection. This is true of the sensations of both color and sound, each of which, we now know, is made up of several elements that could never have been ascertained without the aid of physiological investigations. Another result obtained by inference from the accurate measurement of the rapidity with which neural processes traverse the nerves is the measurement of time occupied in psychic processes. Both of these measurements were once regarded as beyond the reach of human possibility. But the time required for the prick of an electric shock on the tip of the finger of one hand, to be carried to the seat of consciousness, and instruction thence to be issued to the end of the finger of the other hand for the pressure of a key, is now determined to the chronoscopic fineness of less than the thousandth part of a second. In this way the psychologic processes of association, attention, memory and volition are now explored and understood to an extent which the old method would never have undertaken and could never have reached. A third result appears in the aid the new method has given to explanation and observation by showing the processes which condition visual perception. The landscape which stretches out before the artist's eye is not the simple ultimate fact which the uninformed take it to be; it is not an impression stamped upon his mind from external nature alone. It is rather as described by a lecturer on Psychology in Art, "that which is built up from color and muscular sensations, with perhaps unlocalized feelings of extension, by means of psychical laws of interest, attention and interpretation. It is, in short, a complex judgment, involving within itself emotional, volitional and intellectual elements. The knowledge of the nature of these elements, and of the laws which govern their combination into the complex visual scene, we owe to physiological psychology through the new means of research with which it has endowed us. This doctrine that our perceptions are not immediate facts, but mediated psychological processes, has been called by Helmholtz the most important psychological result yet reached."

With this latter judgment there may not be general agreement among those who believe the new psychology to owe its deepened conviction as to the unity of the mind to the same experimental method. The older psychology represents the constitution of the human mind from an aggregative rather than from a unitary point of view. According to its theory the mind is an aggregation of faculties—the sum total of what we call sensation, perception, reason, memory, imagination, desire, will and their like. It forgot that these so-called faculties of the mind are mere abstractions of thought, and that they do not severally stand for anything really distinct in mental life. Now whilst retaining, in a measure at least, the vocabulary of the old, the new psychology guards against the misconception referred to and its mischievous consequences, by insistence upon the unity of the mind.

Unlike the body, unlike the brain, the mind has no organs, no parts. There are differences in the modes of our conscious life and activity, which need to be distinguished by names and classified, but always with the remembrance that the mind which knows is the same that feels and wills. “Consciousness does not appear to itself,” Prof. James declares, “chopped up into bits. Such words as ‘chain’ or ‘train’ do not describe it fitly. It is nothing jointed; it flows. Let us call it the stream of consciousness or of subjective life.” The mind is a unit. In exercise or movement its organic unitary life reaches out over the various activities which we distinguish and designate by different terms, though the life of thinking and feeling, desiring and willing, is discernible in every one of them. This single achievement of knowing the mind in its unity, in whose possession the new psychology rejoices, and which was suggested and developed in connection with physiological and biological discoveries, is of itself an ample return for all the toil expended in making the experimental investigations out of which it has grown.

When psychologic science had come to the full recognition of this organic unity of the human mind, the transition to the comparative method in its development was at once easy and natural. This transition marks a long stride forward in the growth of the

new psychology. It is a conception brought out into clear light by biological investigations that the life of an organism can be lived only under conditions of environment. Self-conscious life, the high-water mark reached in the evolution of life, is no exception to the conditions needed by life in lower stages of development. The human mind unfolds its powers and gathers strength by living in and struggling with its surroundings, just as other forms of life do in the presence and under the pressure of elements in whose midst they stand. Everything which stirs in the human soul, it thus comes to be seen, is conditioned by the place it occupies in the great historic or social system of human life. "No man liveth unto himself." No mind lives in separate independency. Hence the application of the comparative, anthropological and sociological methods by the new psychology. By their use the observations of individual life are amplified and corrected. The human mind is studied in the history, customs, faiths, institutions, languages and literatures of various peoples, under a variety of conditions, in different ages. Psychological data in their spontaneous and unsophisticated forms are met with in this way. No one can doubt the modifying and broadening effect upon the knowledge of mind produced by such comparative study. The same method takes up also the study of heredity, the mental life of savages, of children, of criminals, and of those in whom it manifests itself under abnormal or disturbed conditions, in order thus to enlarge the base upon which the generalizations of the science are to stand.

Here again the limitations of time, which must be regarded, forbid the selection of more than a few of the numerous facts which offer themselves for illustration. Take first the matter of language. It is difficult to estimate the wealth of material and of problems furnished by it to psychology. How it has originated; whether it was contemporaneous with or subsequent to thought; how thought and language have acted and reacted upon each other; what mental laws have caused the differentiation and development of languages; how their structure and syntax have been brought about; how the meaning of words has come to be



established, and how the rhetorical devices have been invented—these, it will be seen at once by any one at all acquainted with modern discussions of language, are but a partial list of the many interesting questions propounded by such discussions in the interests of psychological science.

As an auxiliary to their solution, the growing minds of children, as disclosed by the formation of their vocabulary, the grouping of words in sentences, the use of pronouns and so forth, has for years been receiving careful and enthusiastic attention among large and widely separated groups of interested observers of child-life. Such study of language in its origin and growth, its structure and refinement, it must be readily seen, could not but prove a potent influence, almost strong enough by itself to bring about the revolution from the old to the new in treating the science of mind.

But the new method, moreover, has cultivated also the large, fertile and productive field of literature, which adjoins that of language. History and biography, poetry and philosophy, have all been compelled to bring to modern science that which is enshrined in them of the inmost being and character of the mind of man. A striking example of this has recently come under my personal observation. George Adam Smith, the distinguished author and professor of Glasgow, delivered during the spring at Johns Hopkins University a remarkable series of lectures on Hebrew Poetry. The profound and sustained grasp with which the entire course had been wrought out abundantly warranted the enthusiastic interest with which the successive lectures were awaited by the great audiences that were privileged to hear them. But by far the most interesting of the lectures, the one which showed to the best advantage the keen and penetrating analytic power of the lecturer's intellect, and yielded no doubt the most satisfactory results to his hearers, was the one which drew forth from the poetry under consideration those psychologic facts and principles adapted to illustrate the mental life and character peculiar to the Semitic races. Such contributions from the study of literature cannot but supplement and enlarge the knowledge of



the workings of man's mind and of the laws which govern them. Extended historical study, wider experience gained by examining the varied forms of mental life as found in biography, in philosophic systems, perhaps most of all in real poetry—these have severally and collectively placed some of its most valuable possessions into the hands of the new psychology.


At least a passing reference should here be made to other lines of inquiry which are now being assiduously cultivated, and are returning valuable psychological suggestions. I refer to the study of mental life under abnormal or disturbed conditions. The insane and the lunatic, the delirious and the epileptic, the blind and the dumb, the defective and the criminal, are now undergoing investigation of the most searching character. Their biographies and their family histories are most carefully studied. Aside from their high practical value for dealing in a merciful and helpful way with those unfortunates in the institutions where in such distressingly large numbers they are gathered, the results attained are very important also for the interest and advancement of psychical science. Hypnotism and hallucination, dreams and visions, ecstasy and telepathy, mind-reading and faith-cure, which many have often been disposed to laugh out of court, are likewise brought under the analytic scrutiny of the scientific test, and for both pedagogic and purely philosophic purposes the results reached are to be neither despised nor disregarded.

Under the transforming impulse issuing from such comprehensive, comparative study as now partially and imperfectly outlined in connection with that obtained as the result of physiological experiments, it is no wonder that the science of mental phenomena, as once known in the light of self-inspection simply, should have undergone changes so great and fundamental as to entitle it in its new and developed form in a most eminent degree to the name of the new psychology.

Guided in the process of this transformation by the principles and laws, regnant in other particular progressive sciences of modern times, this new psychology has recognized, it is almost gratuitous to say, no logic save the logic of life and of fact. In

search only of the truth, it has allowed no preconceived notions to embarrass its efforts. Its investigations, analyses and comparisons have proceeded step by step only as fact, established by adequate experiment as being true to life, warranted advance to be made. It has inquired what it is to think, what to know, and has recognized that in these, questions of the highest import and of the greatest difficulty are met with, and that upon the answers given to them depend not only our accepted doctrines of theology, but our trust also in religion. Accordingly it accentuates knowledge and studies carefully its origin and development in the mental life. But it places greater emphasis, if possible, upon the feelings. It believes their importance to have been too long and too generally underrated. Their relation to the cognitive and volitional sides of mental life is vital and far more significant than has been often supposed. The new psychology therefore has good reasons for regarding the feelings as the deepest, the most inexplicable, thing in man. They furnish the great impulse to action and direct the course pursued by those actions. In them, rather than in the cognitive or volitional powers, lies also the great distinction between the mind of man, and that of brute creatures below him. Human feelings determine interest in truth, in righteousness, in beauty, and guide life and conduct along the paths of correct morals and pure religion. Hence the sensibilities are to be regarded as fundamental, whilst the intellect is simply instrumental, and the will merely executive.

The new psychology lays large stress also upon the will. It regards it not as an abstract power of unmotivated choice, nor as an executive power intended to obey the behests of the understanding. It is rather the living bond which connects and conditions all mental activity. Upon strictly psychologic grounds it regards the question as to the determinism or indeterminism of volition to be insoluble; but in its ethical tendencies, and after weighing well the voluminous and refined discussions to which all schools have contributed, it decides in favor of the freedom of man's will. The entire history of the new psychology, in its progressive development upon all these questions, is marked, it



must be seen, by repeated evidences of real contact with life. And in this probably there is one of the secrets whence has sprung the peculiar popular favor it has been accorded on the one hand, and on the other that ever widening influence upon, or power over, other departments of thought and inquiry which it has been so successfully wielding.

How, indeed, when we come to think of it, could it well be otherwise? Psychology being the systematic exhibition of our knowledge of the being, activity and growth of the human mind, the more accurate that exhibition is, and the more intelligent our apprehension of it, the more correct and thorough must be the result of every other science developed by us. Given the instrument, the results to be accomplished by it in any direction depend upon our knowledge of it in structure and function, and the skill with which we can employ it. This obvious truth as regards the mind, though not always given the recognition due to it, might be abundantly verified by examining systems of physical and metaphysical philosophy, or those of ethics and theology, with a view of ascertaining the number and character of the happy changes wrought in them by the direct and indirect influence of the new psychology.

At this time we must forego, however, the pleasure of entering the delightful fields of inquiry which here so invitingly open before us. In passing them it must suffice to say in a general way that their testimony is strong and unequivocal. In the realm of physics it has dissolved ancient illusions and established important facts and principles. In that of æsthetics it has given a deeper insight into the nature and laws of beauty, and thus reduced the difficulty of their application in the production of works of art. In the sphere of ethics there has been heartfelt response to the broader and truer principles of the later psychology, and the advantages thus gained have lifted the entire science of human duty to a loftier plane. In the sphere of philosophy, especially as regards that most insidious heresy of the day known as agnosticism, significant results in the way of arresting its influence and showing the untenability of its position, have been accom-

plished. In the sphere of theology more than one important doctrine has been affected and modified. The question as to the nature and reality of "a Christian consciousness" has been studied in the light of scientific psychology, and our knowledge of the content of man's mind as redeemed, placed upon firmer grounds. The question of personal immortality—question old, yet ever new—has been investigated once more—and in the light of the new science—with the result of grounding all the more securely, if possible, our faith in the great truth brought to light by the Gospel. The question of inspiration, as applied to the mind of man and as the product of a mind inspired, has received new attention, and the most satisfactory views of the question are those which acknowledge their debt to the new psychology and take account of the deeper insight into the nature and life of the mind, which it has disclosed. The conception of God himself, as an outside agent or will ruling over creation by the application of external force, has been compelled, under the potent influences of better psychological notions, to make way for the more correct Christian conception of Deity as a universal personal presence absolutely pervasive throughout the universe or immanent in it.

These few facts may serve to indicate the numerous and varied directions into which the influence of the new psychology has been reaching out in the course of its comparatively brief history. No cautious person would think of affirming that its scientific researches have already accomplished their greatest work. More and larger things may reasonably be expected from the further development now in progress. And those who can stand in the presence of its past and prospective achievements without becoming interested, or without acknowledging the importance and significance of the new psychology both in itself and in the influence it must exert upon knowledge and faith, upon morals and religion, can not be placing a just and accurate estimate upon established facts. Those who do not in the conduct of their intellectual life take proper account of this psychological movement cannot be reasonably expected to keep abreast with that which is truest, best and most inspiring in any department of current inquiry, opinion and thought.

## IV.

### THE DRINKING HABIT AND PROHIBITION.

BY REV. D. B. LADY, D. D.

One of the great evils under the sun is the excessive use of strong drink. It is not the only evil under the sun. There are those who claim that it is not the greatest. It is not necessary to the design of this paper to assert that this claim is correct or that it is not correct. If it is one of the great hindrances to human welfare, which probably all are ready to admit, enough is conceded for the present purpose.

The bad effects of drunkenness come first of all to the man who drinks.

Drinking intoxicating liquors, such as wine and whiskey, impairs the strength and vigor of the physical powers. It inflames the stomach and interferes with the digestion. It destroys a pure, natural and healthy taste and appetite for wholesome food. It produces nervousness. It exhausts physical vigor and energy. It shortens life. The drunkard in many instances does not live out half his days. His sun sets at noon. And instead of its being a bright sunset, the herald of another and better day, his life goes out in clouds and darkness, with no promise of good for the life to come.

Of twenty-five men who went to the Arctic regions on the Greely expedition only six came back alive. The first to perish was a man who had, years before, been a hard drinker. Of those who lived through the hardships to which they were exposed all were men of the most strictly temperate habits. This is the testimony of General Greely himself.

Drunkenness also interferes with the mental faculties. It diminishes acuteness and accuracy of thought. It weakens the memory. It impairs the correctness of the reasoning. It vitiates

the judgment. It stands in the way of sustained application. It destroys the mind. Where drunkenness increases, insanity increases.

Unwise physicians have been known to administer whiskey to tide an infant over a dangerous disease. In such cases the life is sometimes preserved, and the patient lives an idiot to the end of his days. "In 1874 there were 300,000 distillers of brandy in France, who were only permitted to produce 40 liters apiece. The number has now increased to 900,000. There has been a corresponding increase in drunkenness among the French lower classes, and whereas in 1884 there were only 123 cases of insanity to every 100,000 of the population, now there are 166 to every 100,000."—*Reformed Church Messenger*, November 14, 1895.

Drunkenness deadens the moral nature. It sears the conscience. It perverts the sense of righteousness in the heart and takes away all desire for a spotless and holy life. It inflames every bad passion and often makes its victim a monster of iniquity. The drunkard looses his hold on religion. He crushes out of his heart the most noble and generous impulses. He wallows in the mire of excess and debauchery and drowns every spark of honor and virtue which ever shone in his conduct, or promised to give brilliancy to his career among his fellowmen or to make him acceptable to his Judge. An eminent jurist, with an experience of thirty years on the bench said, in a recent lecture, that the use of strong drink was the cause of three-fourths of the crimes committed in the county in which he held office.

As regards religion, St. Paul says the fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance. These are the outgrowth of the Christian life, the positive marks of the Christian character. They spring from the seed of divine truth and grace in the heart. They result from union through faith with Christ. And among these is temperance.

On the other hand, on the negative side, among the things to be renounced and avoided are envyings, drunkenness, revelings, and such like. The Apostle says to those whom he is addressing

that he had already warned them and now warns them again that they which do such things cannot inherit the kingdom of God. Such things degrade the character, corrupt the moral life and make the individual who practices them hateful to the Divine Being. Men dishonor God by them. They unfit themselves for the society of the saints. They cannot be admitted into the Kingdom. Among the things thus condemned is drunkenness. "Be not drunk with wine wherein is excess," or intemperance, is the Apostolic injunction, "but be filled with the Spirit."

But the evil effects of drinking to excess, appalling as they are, do not end with the individual who thus indulges a depraved appetite. It is true here, as elsewhere, that no man liveth to himself. The results of the drunkard's wrong-doing come to others as well as to himself.

God hath set the solitary in families. And the drunkard's wife and children share in the effects of his evil habits. As a rule, he impoverishes himself to gratify his thirst. The manufacture and sale of intoxicants are enormously profitable. It is no uncommon thing for a man to spend a fortune upon his passion for strong drink. He takes away the support of his family that he may minister to his failing. His wife is deprived of the necessities and comforts of life. His children are clothed in rags and miss the advantages which a provident father might secure for them. He beggars himself and those dependent upon him that his increasing thirst may be satisfied. A drunkard's family is not a happy family. Not only poverty, but cruelty in many forms, is found there. The wife-beater is in many cases a man who is intoxicated. An ungovernable temper, profanity, jealousy and hatred toward those who have a right to love and and protection go with the excessive use of strong drink. The example of enslavement to a debasing appetite and of a vicious instead of a virtuous life is set before an innocent offspring. The thirst for intoxicants is often transmitted to the children, along with a diseased body, a weakened intellect and depraved moral instincts. The loss of self-respect, and a sense of being disgraced in the eyes of the community, must also be borne by the friends of the lover of strong drink.



Some one recently wrote: "Who would not rather have a son or a friend the victim of the robber or the assassin than of the liquor seller? If the robber steals his money or his property he leaves him still a man, honored and respected. If the assassin slays him for his money he is still fondly remembered and loved as before. But the victim of the liquor-seller, robbed of his manhood as well as of his money, is loathsome even to his friends while he lives, and a source of inexpressable grief when he is dead; an agonizing sorrow from which there is no relief but in forgetfulness of his debauched life and hopeless death."—*Reformed Church Messenger*, November 14, 1895.

"The number of hard drinkers in our country to-day is estimated to be 2,500,000. And an average of four other persons are affected by each one's degradation and shame."—*Reformed Church Messenger*, November 14, 1895.

This refers to the families and near relatives of the drinking men.

Drunkenness is a great waste of money. The amounts spent for intoxicating drink every year are enormous, and are worse than thrown away. It is not a difficult matter to obtain accurate figures upon this point from the internal revenue tax. Whiskey is taxed 90 cents a gallon and beer is taxed \$1.00 per barrel. The amounts received from this source are regularly reported. From these reports it has been ascertained that about (one billion) \$1,000,000,000 are being spent in this country alone for strong drink each year. About half that sum is spent for bread and one-third for meat. For woolen goods less than one-third of that sum is spent, for iron and steel also less than one-third, and for education not one-tenth. And it is almost 200 times as much as is raised and expended each year for the cause of Home and Foreign Missions. Joseph Cook said some time ago: "It has been proven that although we receive \$100,000,000 a year from the liquor traffic, that is only \$.160 a head, whilst \$15 a head are added to our burdens." In Belgium in 1851 the revenue from the tax on strong drink was \$800,000. It is now \$6,600,000. This represents an enormous expenditure by the people of that country



for intoxicants. And it brings to our attention the alarming fact that this expenditure is increasing at a ruinous rate.

The money spent for strong drink is wasted as far as the individual who spends it is concerned. What a man pays out for whiskey or beer he cannot use for food or clothing. And the whiskey or beer will be of no benefit to him, but in many cases will be an injury to him either immediately or in the future, and in some cases in the end an injury of the most fearful character. It may, of course, be said that the manufacturing and selling of intoxicants gives employment to a large sum of money and to many men, and thus serves to support many families. Over against this, those who have looked into the matter inform us that the same amount of money invested in iron and woolen mills would provide work for just twice as many men and support, therefore, just twice as many families. It is also sometimes said that the iron and woolen mills now established are often compelled to stand idle for months because there is already a surplus of their products, and that to employ one-third of the money now employed in distilleries and breweries and soloons in the establishment of new iron and woolen mills would ruin the iron and woolen business. This looks reasonable at first glance. But it is certainly a sufficient answer to it to say that the over-production of iron implements and woolen goods exists, not because the needs of the Nation have been supplied, but because of the inability of the people to purchase what they need. And this inability exists not among people of temperate and total-abstinence habits, but among those who spend their money for intoxicating liquors, and who are on this account not able to provide comfortable shelter and clothing for themselves and their families. The assertion may be safely made that if nothing were spent for strong drink in this country, the money thus saved would be used for better food and clothing and shelter, in house-building and traveling and in innumerable other ways, in such abundance that in a few years all branches of morally legitimate business would be so greatly stimulated that every dollar taken out of the whiskey business would find profitable employment in

other enterprises, and that every man who now makes a living by making or selling strong drink would make an equally good living in some other line of life, whilst hundred of thousands of men, women and children would be healthier and more comfortable in outward estate and have a better conscience towards God and men.

Rev. James B. Cooper, of New Britain, Conn., recently made the following calculation. The money spent for strong drink in New Britain each year would pay all the taxes, the salaries of all the school teachers, build a new high-school building and a Young Men's Christian Association building, pay the church debts of the town, amounting to \$330,000, and give every poor family a barrel of flour and buy a suit of clothes for every needy person. And this town is probably no exception to other towns of its size in this country; and in other countries, as a rule, the case is still worse.

It has been estimated that in Chicago last year \$40,000,000 was spent for liquors. It has also been pertinently added: What would this do towards settling the "wage question?" It would give 20,000 families homes worth \$2,000 each.

If it were possible to put a stop to all drinking for once, in less than two years we could pay the national debt with the money thus saved; in half a year more we could retire the legal tender paper currency, and, as the Secretary of the Treasury believes, prevent, in a large measure, the exportation of gold from this country to Europe; in a few years more we could pay all the state, city and county debts, and afterwards support the whole machinery of national and state government, with their large annual appropriations, and do a great deal towards paying county, school and road taxes.

"At a late meeting the Rev. D. M. Beach, of Cambridgeport, Mass., told the story of Cambridge's triumph over the saloon, by which the city gained \$90,000, through the absence of the saloon against the loss of \$60,000 license money. He said that the savings of the people had risen from \$140,000 in the last year of the saloon, eight years ago, to \$556,000 for this year."—*Reformed Church Messenger*, November 28, 1895.

The testimony of the most thoughtful men in all civilized countries, men with the best opportunities to form a correct judgment, is that drinking is the cause of a large part of the lawlessness and crime, and thus of the expense incurred in the suppression and punishment of crime, to say nothing of the degradation and wretchedness resulting from crime, in the countries where they reside. Archbishop Croke, of Ireland, says: "If it were not for drunkenness there would be no crime in Ireland. As it is there is no crime which does not arise out of that evil."—*Reformed Church Messenger*, December, 5, 1895.

*The London Times*, as quoted by the *Reformed Church Messenger*, says: "It would be impossible to find anything which stands for so much loss to soul, body and estate as the public house. Even if we accept the best that can be made for it in principle, the fact is it is still a huge nuisance and misery. There is not a vice, or disease, or disorder, or calamity of any kind that has not its frequent rise in the public house. The public house degrades, ruins and brutalizes a large fraction of the British people."—*Reformed Church Messenger*, December 12, 1895.

Inspector Byrnes, the famous detective and Police Superintendent of New York, says: "After all, if we hunt vice and crime back to their lairs we will be pretty sure to find them in the gin-mill. Drunkenness is the prolific mother of most of the evil doing. Drunkenness is the prime cause of all the trouble."—*Reformed Church Messenger*, October 3, 1895.

Says George W. Douglas: "I impeach the accursed liquor traffic as a conspiracy against the sanctity of the family. A moralist has well said: 'There is not a demoralizing league in this city but is bottomed on liquor; there is not a gambling hell but is bottomed on liquor; there is not a house of social sin and death but is bottomed on liquor!' See you the transition? Out of the barroom into the gambling hell; out of the gambling hell into the house of sin and death, of which, says Solomon, many enter, but none return; for swift footed and sure, most find an early grave, and a ruin which the eternities shall not repair."—*Reformed Church Messenger*, October 10, 1895.

But it is simply impossible to bring before our minds anything like a complete picture of the ruinous results of strong drink, even though we should continue with these facts and opinions indefinitely. The loss of physical power, of mental vigor and clearness, the moral degradation, the waste of money, the poverty, disease, wretchedness and crime which result from strong drink, to say nothing of the forfeiture of eternal salvation coming upon the 2,500,000 inebriates in this country and upon those who are rapidly recruiting their ranks, and the loss and suffering which their friends and the communities where they live, which are bound to care for them and punish them, are called upon to undergo, are absolutely indescribable. Drunkenness is so great an evil and its consequences are so appalling that no pen can fully set them forth.

There are, however, those who claim that alcohol and the liquors of which it is the basis have a legitimate place in the economy of our life, that physicians use them with the best result, and that to banish them from our midst entirely would be a serious loss to the health of many who now receive great benefit from their use.

The testimony is, however, far from being all on one side on this branch of the subject. Physicians of experience and ability have practiced medicine for years without using alcohol, and have declared that they could get along very well without it.

Dr. Norman Kerr says: "All intoxicating drinks are poisonous. The lighter beers and the finest fermented wines are as truly, though not as strongly, intoxicating as are the coarsest and cheapest spiritous drinks."—*Reformed Church Messenger*, October 10, 1895.

"Thirteen hundred and fifty-five Canadian physicians were asked if general health would be improved by total abstinence, and 1,068 answered in the affirmative. Out of 1,840 who replied to a question on moderate drinking, 901 said that the use of intoxicants, even in moderation, is injurious to health and to activity of body and mind."—*Reformed Church Messenger*, October 30, 1895.

The National Medical Association of England declared, in 1884, that whiskey ought to be used in medical practice with the same caution as any other powerful poison. The London *Lancet*, a prominent medical journal, in six months' time reported 2,000 cases treated by eminent English physicians, not one of whom prescribed alcohol in any form. And some of the best hospitals in London have quit the use of alcohol entirely, and they have had better success since then than ever before.

There are many persons who take an occasional glass of wine or whiskey who have not the least idea that they are in danger of becoming drunkards. They say they will stop in time; when they find themselves getting too fond of strong drink they will set themselves against it. But in this way millions have already deceived themselves. One effect of drinking is to weaken the will power. When one finds himself getting too fond of intoxicants it may be too late to resist the appetite successfully. It is a thousand times easier to overcome the inducements to drink before the habit of it is formed or the appetite for it is created than afterwards. The viper is easily killed when it is small and comparatively harmless. It is the act of a very foolish person to let it grow strong and dangerous before attempting to destroy it.

But is it wrong to take a single drink? A man who steals a thousand dollars is a thief. A man who steals one dollar is a thief too. If one tells twenty-five lies he is a liar. If one tells one lie he is a liar too. He who drinks ten glasses of whiskey a day is a drunkard. It would be hard to understand upon what principle we could claim that he who drinks but one glass a day is not just to that extent a drunkard too. There are those who maintain that it is getting drunk that is sinful, and not drinking. If drinking results directly in sinfulness, then drinking is sinful. If ten glasses of whiskey make a man drunk, then one glass must bear one-tenth of the guilt, because it has caused one-tenth of the sin. The divine law deals with causes as well as with effects. The same law which forbids stealing forbids coveting also. Christ says the axe is laid to the root of the tree. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is

hewn down and cast into the fire. Drinking brings forth drunkenness and all its attendant curse and sin. If the axe were laid at the root of the tree, if no one ever drank even one glass of strong drink, most certainly no fruit of drunkenness would ever disgrace and befoul the life of the individual or of the race. A reformation of this kind begins with a single person, and it grows by bringing others, one by one, to adopt its principles.

How shall this great evil be abated? Shall we attempt to regulate and diminish it, or to abolish and destroy it? This is a question that has occasioned the most earnest and at times the most intemperate discussion.

The individual, of course, can control himself. He can, if he will, decline and refuse to drink, and thus save himself from the loss in estate and physical power, and from the mental and moral degradation which comes to a man through his own intemperance. But he cannot in this way save himself, and those whose temporal welfare and future happiness are his concern, from the wretchedness and loss which, as a rule, are visited upon the near relatives of the drunkard and upon the citizens of the same community to which he belongs.

Nearly every man in this country has a high regard for personal liberty. He is not willing to give up his own freedom or to interfere with the freedom of others. He feels that he has a right to regulate his own actions, to eat and drink what he himself prefers and not what another prescribes, and to use his capital in such manufacture or trade as will secure him the largest returns. And there is a strong disposition on the part of the people and the lawmakers to give every man in the land such freedom.

But there are limitations to freedom even in a free country. It was the French Revolutionary Convention that enunciated the truth that, "The liberty of each citizen ends where the liberty of another citizen commences." There is such a thing as freedom. But where one desires to use his freedom to the injury of another, the principle of restraint legitimately comes in. Theft and adultery and murder are crimes in the eyes of the law in all civilized

countries, and have been from time immemorial, because the commission of them, even though the perpetrator might claim a right of personal liberty in the case, would most seriously interfere with the rights of others, whose rights must also be respected. For this reason the insane who are dangerous are locked up and the thief and the murderer are punished. The law itself allows no guilty man to escape, whatever may be said of the administration of the law. And this is done not only that justice may be vindicated, but that society may be protected. The man-eating tiger in the jungles of India has no rights which any one respects. And why should the rum-seller, who robs his victim of property and life and shuts the gates of Paradise against his soul, and brings unnecessary shame to his relatives and expense upon the community, be regarded as having any rights in this direction which the public, which suffers from the business of the one and from the habits of the other, is bound to respect.

If it is true, as a distinguished observer of facts recently said, that "all the crimes on earth do not destroy so many of the human race, nor alienate so much property from beneficial uses," as the drinking habit does, and, as the *New York Tribune* recently said, that "the liquor traffic is to-day the heaviest clog upon the progress and the deepest disgrace of the nineteenth century," it would certainly accord with a wise public policy and with the best interests of the community, not only to restrict and try to regulate, as we do now, the appetite of the drunkard and the business of the drunkard-maker, but to prohibit, by the most sweeping laws and the strictest enforcement of them, all manufacturing and selling of intoxicating drink.

"The cry of personal liberty is the cry, in the first instance, of the saloonkeeper and of the drunkard, then of the demagogue and politician, whose horizon is bounded by success at the next election. It is an appeal for an order of things which has shocked the moral sense of the world by its indecency, its cruelty and its crime."—*Reformed Church Messenger*, November 28, 1895.

There is evidently a growing sentiment in favor of prohibition. A generation ago one could make whiskey anywhere in the



United States without tax or regulations; and almost any one could sell it on condition of paying a small license fee annually. Now we have "high license," and "local option," and "Brooks laws," and the frequent proposition and occasional enactment of the severest restrictive measures.

The New York *Observer* recently said: "The scant respect which not only the public sentiment, but our courts as well, have for the alleged rights of liquor dealers, is significant of the general condemnation under which the liquor traffic lies. There is general agreement that any restriction that can be put upon the trade is legitimate, and that its pursuit should be made as difficult as possible. Any obstacle that can be devised to increase the difficulty of procuring drink is tacitly accepted as wise and just, and even habitual drinkers vote for the practical outlawry of those supplying them with liquor. The protection afforded men in other businesses by the constitutional prohibition of the deprivation of property without due process of law is, in the case of the liquor dealer, withdrawn."—*Reformed Church Messenger*, October 10, 1895.

The following statements appeared in the *Messenger* a short time ago: "Sentiment in Georgia seems to be growing in favor of the anti-barroom bill, which proposes to abolish barrooms, to prohibit the manufacture, sale, and keeping for sale, of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes, and to provide for its manufacture and sale for other purposes." "In the Argentine Republic when a man is caught drunk he is made to sweep the streets for eight days." "The police in Denmark have a curious way of dealing with those found drunk on the streets. They summon a cab and place the patient inside. Then they drive to the station, where he gets sober, and then home. The agents never leave him till they have seen him safe in the bosom of his family. Then the cabman makes his charge, and the police surgeon makes his, and the agents make their own claim for special duty, and the bill is presented to the host of the establishment where the culprit took his last overpowering glass."

These things show the state of men's minds towards the w





business of making, selling and drinking intoxicating beverages. Men are beginning to see that drinking intoxicants is evil and evil only; that the total abstainer is in every way in a better condition than he who drinks; that the rum-seller is growing rich through the temporal and spiritual undoing of his patrons; that heavy burdens are being bound and laid upon the community by the whiskey dealer and his victim, which the sober and industrious citizens are compelled to bear. Hence the public sentiment is becoming educated to an understanding of this, one of the worst of all nuisances, and the people are putting all kinds of obstructions in its path. The final step will be prohibition. It may come soon or it may be indefinitely delayed. The sooner men come to look the monstrous evil in the face and the better they come to understand its true character, the sooner and the more emphatically will they say: It shall exist and be free to ruin a large part of every generation of the human family no longer. As the thief and murderer have been outlaws for ages, as the unlicensed distiller, the moonshiner, is an outlaw now, so in time to come, under the awakened moral sense which follows the earnest preaching of a pure gospel, no whiskey will be made or sold except in defiance of law.

V.

THE FIRST CHAPTER OF GENESIS READ IN THE  
LIGHT OF MODERN SCIENCE.

BY H. P. LAIRD.

James Playfair, born in 1748, and successively Professor of Mathematics and of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, gave out *Ex Cathedra* that there was no evidence that the world had a beginning, and none that it would have an end. This was then accepted by many as scientific truth, although thousands of years before the Psalmist had said: "These (the earth and the heavens) will indeed perish \* \* \* yea, all of them will wax old like a garment." (Part of verse 27, of the 102d Psalm.) It is scientific now to hold with Moses, that the present order of the Universe had a beginning and with the Psalmist, that it will have an end.

The theme of this chapter surpasses all other dramatic representations. Its sustained dignity and sublimity through every stage of the birth of worlds never falls below the stupendous magnitude of the subject. There is no abrupt and broken transition from the height of the divine creative activities described; but rather the calm inauguration of the crowning glory of years of creative energy by the Sabbatic rest not yet ended.

Whoever, on a starry night, pauses for ten minutes to look up into the heavens and beholds there the composure, and serenity, which reigns in all that vast domain, will be impressed with the certainty that a time came when the Creator having finished the scheme He had planned ceased, so far as human observation extends, from all further creative activity. All the world has this scientific corroboration of a fact asserted in this narrative.

Aristotle argued that matter was eternal. Plato, his master, more cautious left the question undetermined. The author

first Genesis with directness and a tone of assured certainty, bore to the children of men a message of profound significance : “ In the beginning God, *bara*, created the heavens and likewise the earth.”

Here is a new thought for the world ; it transcends all experience. From whence did it come in the distant past when this narrative was written unless it was revealed from above ? The idea is one of profound significance which Sir Isaac Newton, after a most elaborate scientific investigation of the system of the universe at the close of the *Principia* on page 527, confirms in these words *Elegantissima hæce Solis, planetarum et cometarum compages, non nisi consilio et dominio Entis, intelligentis et potentis oriri potuit, \* \* \* Hic omnia regit, non ut anima Mundi, sed ut universorum Dominus.*

First Genesis is a scenic representation of the order of the creations described, embodying the earliest revelation concerning God, and the origin of things set down in formal statement and transmitted to us by the hand of Moses, and has all the charm and freshness of a perennial inspiration. It has just what the Latin poet once prayed for but did not obtain. *Dii cœptis (Nam vos mutastis et illas) Adspirate meis.*

It can not be doubted by any Christian but that the Apostle John wrote by divine inspiration, when he set forth in formal statement, in the first chapter of the Gospel by him, the eternity of the Son of God and His work in the creation of the world. What the Apostle John wrote can not be verified, even by the utmost human research, and our belief in it rests on faith. The truth of the statement contained in the record in first Genesis appeals to many facts which may be made the subject of human research and observation. It is this feature which gives the narrative of creation such a profound interest in the thinking of all men, and hence it has been scrutinized more than any other portion of the sacred record. By the consent of the ages, and by the approval of the most learned and devout men of every age since the days of Moses, it has been placed at the head of the most stupendous and far-reaching system of religious belief ; as if an autograph of God.

In announcing the proposition contained in the first verse, the author had the choice of three Hebrew words: *Yatsar* to form, *Assa* to make, and *Bara* to create. If he had used the first or second of those words he would have expressed the prevalent idea which existed in that age in regard to the visible things of the world. That he used the transcendent term *bars*, involving the idea of origination, which is now regarded as the only *scientific* mode of accounting for the origin of matter, is not without its weight on the question of a divine revelation.

At the close of the nineteenth century, a gentleman seated in his study at the hour of midnight, by pressing his finger on a button, can instantly flash the light in all the rooms of his large mansion. This might suggest to him the fact which Moses has mentioned in the third verse, "Let there be light and there was light." But in that distant age, when this chapter was written, how was it possible for Moses, without any experience in electricity, to have described so sublimely and scientifically the lighting up of the universe. This is the only part of creation described as having occurred instantaneously, and in looking back in the light of the experience of this age it must be apparent that the instantaneous effect is in accordance with *Science*; but Moses asserted this fact *a priori* before Science had shed any light on the subject of electricity. Whence had he this knowledge, unless it was revealed to him, or to those who preceded him? The first and second eras correspond with the Azoic age of the geologists, in which there is no evidence of either vegetable or animal life. How do those who deny the inspiration of this narrative account for this coincidence? The exception taken to the representations in the seventh verse, of the separation of the waters below from the waters above *upon* the expanse can safely be left to Hebrew scholarship. Any one who is familiar with the genius of Hebrew thought and language will have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the author understood the cloud system floating in the expanse just as we do now.

The Mozaic record informs us that the waters which covered the earth were collected into *one place*. This is an important

statement and is verified by geological research. The deep sea explorations fitted out by the British Government within the last twenty-five years ascertained by actual navigation that all the oceans have a continuous connected water way.

Prof. James D. Dana (Geology), page 11, says: "But while the continents are separate areas the oceans occupy *one continuous* basin or channel."

Following the retirement of the waters to the great channels, which they still substantially occupy, the dry land appeared and in the same era, the *third* of this narrative, at the Divine command the earth brought forth such a vegetation as has not been seen since the carboniferous period. The earth was warm and genial from its own internal heat. The carbonic gas in the atmosphere, the food of plants was abundant and the electrical light, which first lit up the universe, was everywhere present to vivify. If coal is of vegetable origin, we have overwhelming evidence of the exuberant productions of vegetable life *before* the coal formation existed. It is estimated by geologists that a stratum of coal six feet thick would require fifty-four feet of vegetable fiber for its production. The plants thus converted into coal must have flourished many thousands of years before they were carbonized, and at a period when no air-breathing animal could exist on the surface of the earth. The excess of carbonic acid then prevailing, but afterwards converted into coal, leaves no ground for believing that any air-breathing animal existed at a period *before* the coal was formed. In estimating the amount of woody fibre to make a stratum of six feet of coal the geologists make no allowance for the amount of carbonic acid gas which the coal material may have absorbed after it had fallen to the ground, but this would not reduce the estimate materially.

Professor Dana (Geology), page 161, says: "Indications of plants occur in earlier *Archean* beds than those of animals." I have not observed that any of the writers on geology have assigned any satisfactory reason why the coal plants when fallen did not rot as they do in all subsequent times. The reason seems obvious. Carbonic acid gas is heavier than atmospheric air, which

contains oxygen and excludes the oxygen from the fallen ferns and plants; and thus protected them from the process of slow combustion, the result of oxidation. The evidence from geological research that plant life preceded animal life, at least so far as air-breathing animals are concerned, seems to be overwhelming. The two records, Moses and Geology, are at one on this point. In first Genesis the events of millions of years are condensed on to a single page; hence it would be unreasonable to expect more than the mere mention of the leading features of each creative period.

That vegetation flourished at that remote period as it has never since done is apparent from the large coal veins, not only in temperate latitudes, but which have been also discovered in  $81^{\circ} 45'$  of north latitude, at which place the thickness of the stratum was reported to be twenty-five feet. Prof. Haeckle, of Jena, was right in saying "that the general condition of life in primeval times must have been entirely different from those of the present time." (History of Creation, Vol. I., pp. 341, 342.) When God said, "Let the earth bring forth grass, herbs yielding seed and fruit trees yielding fruit after their kind," we may be quite sure that the primeval conditions were all arranged for such a result, and that we have in this narrative the order in which this happened is not contradicted by geology. At an earlier period, when we were ignorant of the source of solar heat, it was urged as an objection against the authority of first Genesis that the sun should have been made before or cotemporary with vegetable life.

It is now the opinion of those most conversant with physical science that the heat of the sun results from its contraction. Among the number of scientists who maintain this view, Sir William Thompson, of England, and Prof. Herman Helmholtz, of Germany, stand preëminent. In the prosecution of this investigation of the source of the sun's heat, it has been determined by these and other physical investigators that the heat of the sun, at the present rate of contraction and distribution of heat, would be exhausted in less than twenty-one millions of years from the time it first shed its light and heat on the

earth, unless there was latent heat in its matter when it began to condense, and that even on this latter hypothesis its supply of heat to the earth could not exceed one hundred millions of years.

On the other hand, the leading geologists are quite certain that the work of denudation and rock formation represents a period of not less than five hundred millions of years. This long period includes the *Azoic* period, when there was neither plant nor animal life, as well as all subsequent ages. This conflict of authority makes room for a degree of presumption that Moses spoke from the book of Revelation when he assigned the fourth day for the making of the sun and moon, and if, in the further investigation of the subject of difference between the physical investigators and geologists, it should be established that both are approximately right, the position of Moses as a *scientist*, if not an inspired writer, will take precedence of all searchers after truth who have come after him. It will then be the task of those who deny the authority of this chapter to account for the prescience of the author. The economy of the scheme of creation leads us to believe that the Supreme Architect furnished no more power than is necessary to run the universe according to a prearranged plan ; hence He made no provision for a supply of sun power *ab extra*, during the time when the created thing in itself had such power. The earth in its earliest stage was a *quasi* sun generating heat and electrical light by its contraction ; but when the surface was sufficiently cooled to admit of plant life the word went forth and it was clothed with an exuberance of vegetable life. We thus see the philosophy of there being no sun heat in the earliest stage of the earth's life. If the investigators of physical science are right in their calculations and the geologists in theirs, if the sun had been made before vegetable life began, its source of heat would have been expended millions of years ago. JAMES CROLL, one of her Majesty's Scotch geologists, in "CLIMATE AND TIMES," page 347, says : " Gravitation is now generally admitted to be the only conceivable source of the sun's heat."

*R. S. Ball*, Astronomer Royal for Ireland, *Encyclopedia*, Vol.

XVII., p. 311, says: "Now what supplies this heat? (heat of the sun). \* \* \* As the sun loses heat it contracts. \* \* \* The sun is thus slowly contracting; but as it contracts it gives out heat, \* \* \* and thus the further cooling and further contraction of the sun is protracted. \* \* \* It can be shown that the sun is at present contracting, so that its diameter diminishes four miles every century."

If we accept the statement in first Genesis, that the sun was not made until the fourth creative day, the apparently conflicting position between the geologists and the investigators of physical science is reconciled.

There is another line of proof of the late appearance of the sun as a member of our solar system so obvious that it is remarkable that it has not been adverted to.

All the geologists agree that the conditions which prevailed in the period which furnished vegetable life for the formation of the coal was a warm, moist, equable temperature extending over the whole area of the dry land. This is proven by the fact that the principal coal plants flourish best under such climatic conditions; that great beds of coal are found in the Arctic region between 70° and 78° of north latitude, and that the flora which composes these Arctic seams of coal is of the same species as the plants which compose the coal strata in the now temperate region. The inference is that the internal heat of the earth at this early period furnished from pole to pole a sufficient amount of heat to render the climate warm and equable, and just as the coal flora required.

The facts are indubitable, and the only inference which can be drawn from them is that at this early period the Arctic regions enjoyed a warm climate, which the internal heat of the earth could alone supply.

Sound philology forbids holding that the Hebrew word *Yom*, day, in this narrative has a more extended signification in some parts of the narrative than in other parts, *unless* the context permits an inference of such a distinction. A degree of the circle of the terrestrial equator is about seventy miles in length, while



a degree of a parallel circle near the north pole may not be one-half mile in length ; and yet we could find no fault with a description in which the word degree was used in reference to both circles, if there was anything in the context to indicate that in one place was meant a degree of the equatorial circle, and in the other place that the degree mentioned had reference to a fractional part of a parallel circle near the north pole. The Hebrew word *Yom*, day, in the 14th, 16th and 18th verses of the first chapter of Genesis is clearly indicated to be a *Solar* day. It is clear that the word *Yom*, day, in the 2d and 3d verses of the second chapter (which were improperly separated from the narrative of the first chapter) is not a solar day, for it is the seventh day of a *series* of six preceding days, some of which began before the solar day was in existence.

*Yom*, then day, in the 5th, 8th, 12th, 19th, 23d and 31st verses was clearly, as the narrative indicates, a creative day, and not a solar day—mere fractions of God's great eternity which the geologists are trying to spell out by the amount of work done on the surface of the earth, and compute their duration by many millions of years.

St. Augustine, one of the early Church Fathers, in contemplating this subject, said : " What mean these sunless days ." The length of these creative days was not revealed, but the fact was revealed in the context that they were not solar days. The geological researches are too imperfect to fix with any degree of certainty the length of the six days, either separately or jointly ; but geologists do estimate the whole period at from six hundred to one thousand millions of years. The Biblical student, when he considers the magnitude of the work which is apparent to every observer, and the three hundred millions of stars (suns) which, in the process of condensation, like our sun, mitigate the cold of space and render life possible on this planet, is not at all startled by the long period which the geologists compute as the measure of *Creative Time*.

It has been suggested that the refrain at the close of each section of the divine creative days,

Wayehi erebh, Wayehi bhoquer  
Yom ehadh,

and so on, each day being numbered in its order, might have been added by a later hand ; but on a careful reading of the original text it will be apparent that no such inference can be drawn. First Genesis and the first three verses of the second chapter constitutes one whole.

The second creative day follows the order of the first, on which light came after the primeval darkness. Hence in this enumeration of the six creative days *erebh*, evening, always precedes *bhoquer*, morning. When we speak of a solar day the morning is first in our thinking, and the evening follows.

The seventh day is not characterized by these incidents ; the great drama and contrivance of God's providence ushered in the morning of the seventh day not yet ended, which received a special benediction, in that the Creator rested from all the work which he created in making. In all the manifold forms of organic life the soul has no rivals in its ambition to spring over the abyss of death and wing its way to God.

This appetite for eternal life, and that other dread, not of a dissolution of the body, but of eternal death, which hangs like a pall over unregenerate life and mars every joy, distinguish man from all his animal congeners, and are strongly suggestive of the reason which induced the All-wise Creator to communicate to him a special revelation, such as is found in this chapter. From the first chapter of Genesis to the last word in the Revelation of St. John the divine, we observe a connected and continuous scheme pointing to the ultimate realization of the appetency for prolonged existence, which distinguishes man from all other forms of organic life.

## VI.

### THE OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S DAY.

BY REV. J. W. LOVE, D. D.

By Lord's Day, as is well known, we mean the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday. Those who base the obligation to its observance on the fourth commandment call it Sabbath, though this is a different day of the week, different in origin and obligation, and passed away with the old Jewish system. The Sabbath was given to commemorate the finished work of Creation, and as a day of rest, divinely commanded to be observed as a holy day. It was even made a penal and a capital offense to engage in unnecessary labor on this sacred day. Numbers 15 : 35, 36. The Lord's day, it is true, takes the place of the Jewish Sabbath, as a day of rest and of worship, but for the Christian, strictly speaking, there is "no law of the Sabbath." That law was abrogated by the higher law and freedom of the gospel and of Christianity. The Lord's Day—our day of rest and of worship—has no "thus saith the Lord" requiring its observance, nor is there any divine penalty attaching to its desecration, except the natural result following the violation of higher moral and Christian obligation required by the new dispensation.

The obligation to observe the first day of the week as a day of rest and of worship is based upon a Christian appreciation of the work of our redemption from sin and its misery, completed in the resurrection of Christ from the dead. We call the first day of the week the Lord's Day because it commemorates the finished work of redemption, as the seventh did the finished work of Creation. But as it was a greater work to redeem man than to originally create the universe, so we are under greater obligation to keep holy the Lord's Day as a fitting expression of gratitude, and as a means of exercising and cultivating our religious natures

in accordance with the freedom which the Gospel affords. The Apostles and early Church, in the exercise of this Christian liberty, began at once the religious observance of the first day of the week immediately after the resurrection of their Lord, and that, too, so far as the record goes, without any positive command or outward constraint. The Lord Himself selected the first day upon which He put special honor, not only by rising from the dead, but by at least five appearances to the disciples on the same day, by again appearing to the eleven a week later, and by the miraculous giving of the Holy Ghost on the first day of the week. From this on, we find the early Church assembling from week to week on first day, as at Troas (Acts 20:7).\*

Paul exhorts the Church at Galatia and Corinth to "lay by" their charitable offerings on the first day of the week (1 Cor. 16:2), and the apostle John had his wonderful apocalyptic vision on the Lord's Day (Rev. 1:10). We find too from primitive writers that the weekly worship of Christians of the early centuries of Christianity was uniformly on Lord's Day. There is no reference to the observance of any other day as a Christian festival. The younger Pliny about A. D. 112 writes to the Emperor Trajan that a religious people called Christians were accustomed to assemble to sing praise to and worship Christ as God on a stated day. And while he does not mention the particular day, it is at once evident that it could not have been the Jewish Sabbath, since all were familiar with Jewish custom, and it would have been superfluous to speak of it.

I repeat, it was in the exercise of Christian liberty, and as the expression of higher Christian love and life, that the Lord's Day, rather than the Jewish Sabbath, was made the weekly festival of rest from secular labor, and of the worship of Him in whom all the hopes of humanity must center from this time on. For the Church to feel that she is not under the constraint of even the moral law, as given in the Decalogue, but under the higher law

\*It is likely that converts from Judaism continued also to observe the seventh day as a matter of Jewish legalism, from which at first they could hardly be expected to get away. But in time Jewish legalism was given up and Christian freedom in this, as in other respects, took its place in Christian practice.

of love to and life in Christ, is the strongest possible obligation that could be imposed to the religious observance of the Lord's Day. Christians will thus realize that it is a glorious privilege and an unspeakable joy to keep holy this sacred day.

But how, it may be asked, can this motive and obligation apply to the people of the world and of those who deny the deity of Christ? We reply here, the motive and obligation to observe Lord's Day must necessarily be on a lower plane, but ought also to be more than sufficient to compel cessation from unnecessary labor, and a restraint of sinful indulgence of the flesh. The observance of this day has its secular as well as its religious benefit and obligation, and so it becomes a question of importance to the State, as well as the Church. It is clearly the province of the State to provide a weekly rest-day for its citizenship and for the protection of good morals. While legal enactment cannot make men religious, it can protect and encourage morals and afford the opportunity, to such as are so inclined, to engage in divine worship.

It is a well established fact that constant toil, seven days of the week from month to month, not only wears out the physical life more rapidly, but is also injurious to the mental and moral welfare of the toiler. The laborer needs a weekly rest that he may have opportunity for wholesome relaxation, for directing his mind to a change of subjects, whether social, moral or religious, as his aptitudes may incline. Of course, the State has no right to direct how a man shall spend his Sundays; that must be left to his own conscience, but it has a right to release the citizen from grinding toil one day in seven, to proclaim religious worship a legitimate act that must not be interfered with, and to protect each one in its enjoyment. This it is supposed to do. The Constitution of the United States, of all the separate States, and laws of about all the States, made in pursuance of their Constitutions, forbid any but work of necessity and of charity to be performed on Lord's day. They all guarantee religious liberty and a weekly rest from unnecessary service to employers. These legal requirements are undoubtedly based upon the teaching of the

word of God and are found to be in the interest of good citizenship and the welfare of the State.

The citizen may decide for himself whether he will have any religion, and, within certain limits, what are works of charity and necessity that may be done on Lord's Day. If, however, he chooses a religion the practice of which is plainly in conflict with the moral interests of the State, as Mormon polygamy, or a religion having any demoralizing features, the State may step in and restrain its practice.

So, also, much that relates to the observance of the Lord's Day is left to the individual conscience, but if any one carries on his secular business or a traffic simply for the money there is in it, or does anything that would pervert the purpose of the State in making the first day of the week a legal rest day, he may be called to account for such violation of divine and secular law. That is to say, in the eyes of the civil law, all business pursued for profit, as the conduct of theatres, places of secular amusement, liquor saloons, etc., are regarded as perversion of good morals, and may be prohibited. It is true that recreation and amusement may come within the sphere of personal liberty, and there may be a question whether the State has control. For example, a man may drive his family over the city or through the country. He may go out on his bicycle singly or in company with others. He may play cards, invite his friends and entertain them at his home in any way he sees fit, provided in doing any or all of these things he does not interfere with the liberty and enjoyment of his neighbors. There is, however, a certain limitation of personal acts that comes under the head of unwritten law, and which acts, by common consent, may become a nuisance or an injury to the general welfare. These may and ought to be restrained by lawful measures.

This brings us to the inquiry: What is a desecration of Lord's Day?

In the divided state of public opinion this question may not be so easy to answer. It is well known that continental Europe, which claims to be as much Christian as America, allows a great

deal of unnecessary labor, of recreation and of personal liberty that would shock even our Western Christian consciousness of rightful Sunday observance. In Berlin, Germany, for instance, professed Christians, from the Emperor down, patronize the Royal Opera, the theater and other places of secular amusement on Sunday more than on any other day of the week. The café, the beer garden, the dancing hall, are thronged, especially on Sunday afternoon and evening. It is said that on any pleasant Sunday a great multitude may be found at the great city park of Berlin and at its adjoining zoölogical garden. Thousands upon thousands go to the country upon excursions. While a small proportion of the people go to church in the morning, the day is generally given up to social recreation and pleasuring. In France, except by comparatively few, the Lord's Day is entirely one of purely secular observance, especially of fleshly gratification of all kinds. Other countries of Christian Europe generally make it a holiday rather than a holy day. Do we want the Continental Sunday in America? It seems to be rapidly coming to that in many of our large cities, especially in the West. In any representative Western city there is perhaps as much desecration of our day of rest and worship as in any of the cities in Europe of equal size. There is vast deal of unnecessary business done by provision, cigar and fruit dealers, by the ice men, small confectioneries, ice cream saloons, etc. About all our places of amusement are run at full capacity; drinking saloons are wide open; the parks hold out extra inducements and attract large crowds; railroads get up cheap excursions and bring many thousands of our country friends from a hundred and more miles distant, as well as from nearer points; all our daily newspapers get out large editions and vie with each other in the number of their pages and the variety of their contents. In many private circles there is great laxity in religious observance of the day.

Of course, there are many, perhaps a majority of our professing Christians, who conscientiously regard the day with reverence, and seek to improve its sacred hours in cultivating their religious

nature ; but they seem to be greatly in the minority—certainly not over one-fifth of our population ! If the churches raise a protest against Sunday desecration, or even the plain violation of our Sunday laws, they are charged with advocating Puritan severity—“blue laws;” interfering with personal liberty ; wanting to be keepers of other peoples’ consciences, etc.

Now while there may be those who are Sabbatarians, and would exact more than even the Gospel demands, the danger is to the other extreme. Cardinal Gibbons has well said : “The desecration of the Christian Sunday is a social danger against which it behooves us to set our face and take timely precautions before it assumes proportions too formidable to be easily eradicated.”

“A close observer,” he goes on to say, “cannot fail to note the dangerous inroads that have been made upon the Lord’s Day in our country within the last quarter of a century.” “If these encroachments are not checked in time, the day may come when the religious quiet, now happily reigning in our well ordered cities” (these well-ordered cities are scarce in the West), “will be changed into noise and turbulence, when the sound of the church bell will be drowned by the echo of the hammer and the dray; when the Bible and the prayer-book will be supplanted by the newspaper and the magazine (it has largely come to that already); when the votaries of the theatre and the drinking saloon will outnumber the religious worshipers; and salutary thoughts of God, of eternity and of the soul will be choked by the cares of business and by the pleasures and dissipations of the world.” All this is measurably true to-day in Western cities, and is rapidly becoming increasingly more so.

Shall our ministers hold their peace in the face of this great sin of Sunday desecration? Surely they ought not. Whether men hear or forbear, they dare not refuse to warn the public of the moral and religious dangers to which we are exposed. If they do, their brother’s blood will stain their clerical robes, and ultimately they may themselves stand condemned at the judgment bar as having been unfaithful to the trust reposed in them.

At the risk of being themselves denounced, they should



hesitate to denounce, as their obligation of office requires them to do, all unnecessary labor and Sunday traffic, Sunday amusements, the keeping open of the liquor saloons, the publishing of Sunday papers, the running of railroad excursions, and every other form of Sunday desecration. Of course, the secular newspapers will ridicule, the unbelievers scoff, and the pleasure-seeking sensualist regard them as Puritanic fanatics, but they can much better afford to endure all this, coming from the source it does, than to come under the condemnation of Him to whom they must one day give account for their stewardship. But, after all, may be the better class of people, and those who want to be right, will be induced to see the right and be influenced to walk in the right. At all events they will then have clean consciences, and the responsibility of heeding or not heeding the law of divine love and life will be with those to whom they preach. Again we say: Let them cry aloud, and spare not those who are guilty of Lord's Day desecration; it may be they shall be the means of saving some who otherwise would be lost to morality and religion.

## VII.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT FROM THE YEAR 730 UNTIL THE YEAR 1710 OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

BY REV. CHARLES E. CORWIN.

### I. THIRD PERIOD. 730 to 1517.

No other age of the Church is as barren in the study of soteriology as the age of scholasticism. Christianity had been heathenized by the barbarians who overran the Roman Empire, and a legal, Judaistic tendency had been developed within the Church by its unregenerate leaders. Such a distinctively spiritual and Christian doctrine as the doctrine of redemption through Christ could not flourish, and hence it is that, while angelology and demonology received in this period consideration entirely out of proportion to their importance, that most important and unique doctrine of the faith was removed very largely from practical treatment.

The only writer in the Greek Church upon this subject worthy of mention is Nicolas of Methone. That the Redeemer of mankind must be a theanthropic person he considered capable of demonstration. Following the theologians of a former age, he held that Christ's death was necessary, not as a ransom paid to God, but to deliver men from the power of the devil.

In the Roman Church the early schoolmen followed Augustine, simply restating his ideas without originality. As in looking from a hill at a distant wood, some one tall tree is discerned towering conspicuous from among its lesser companions, so, as we stand upon the heights of the 19th century and gaze at the age of scholasticism, we see the noble form of Anselm rising above his fellows in the field of soteriology. Anselm's ideas of Christ's work are thoroughly Scriptural, and if his reason could have had a practical effect upon the Church, that purification of

character, which is a necessary result of a true faith, might have made the Reformation, which took place four centuries after his death, unnecessary. Anselm had the one thing needful for a proper theory of redemption, a true idea of sin; for without a full and just conception of the evil of sin it is impossible for one to understand the infinite necessity and the infinite value of Christ's sacrifice. The substance of the argument in his treatise, "Cur Deus Homo," is as follows:

1. God is an infinite sovereign to whom man as a creature owes a debt of absolute obedience.

2. Man has sinned; he, therefore, owes not only absolute obedience for the future, but absolute satisfaction for the past. The honor of God in its very essence demands either punishment or satisfaction.

3. Man cannot pay his past debt; and by his sin he has brought himself into such a state that he is unable to yield obedience for the future. Man is therefore subject to condemnation.

4. God cannot, from the necessity of his own nature, allow his work to fail; therefore God must provide satisfaction for man. As the debt is greater than any thing except God, God alone can pay the debt; but as man has sinned, there is a moral necessity that man pay it. Therefore the only being who can pay it must be such a person as is very God and very man, a true Theanthropos.

5. Christ, as man, owes perfect obedience, but not unto death. His death is, therefore, supererogatory, and, because of His divinity, more than answers all the requirements of God from man.

6. As Christ's death was for righteousness' sake, it was for the honor of God. In justice, therefore, as God has received this unrequired honor from Christ, He must reward Him.

7. Christ, as God, already possesses all things. He can, therefore, receive no reward for Himself, but, since He is a man, a proper reward is bestowed if His sinful brethren are pardoned.

Such is the outline of Christ's work presented in the early days of scholasticism by one of its most able exponents. Anselm perhaps errs in making Christ's active obedience a ground of

justification to the exclusion of his passive righteousness. He fails to make sufficient of the union of the believer with his Redeemer, and his work is marred by certain minor discussions, characteristic of his age, but which to our minds appear foolish. Nevertheless, if greatness consists in rising above one's surroundings and in the power to produce effects upon the future, Anselm was truly a great man. Anselm was not appreciated by his contemporaries. The brilliant Abelard advanced theories not only totally opposed to Anselm's teachings, but also to the Scripture. God, he taught, can and does pardon sin without any satisfaction. This idea, the precursor of the theory of a moral atonement, arose from his feeble conception of sin. Christ's work consists in simply showing God's love, so that the sinner may be attracted to it in return. Against this low view the spiritual and mystical Bernard, of Clairvaux, lost no time in raising a protest, although he added nothing to the doctrinal development of the subject.

Hugo, of St. Victor, held mystical views of Christ's work in accord with the general character of his mind. Against Anselm he thought that the atonement was not an absolute necessity, although he admitted that it was the most appropriate way for the salvation of sinners. He seems to have had the idea of Christ's active and passive righteousness, an idea not developed till a later period. Thus he says: "Christ, therefore, by being born, paid the debt of man to the Father, and by his death expiated the fault of man." *De Sacram. C. 4* Peter Lombard, the great Master of Sentences, vacillated in his conception of the atonement. He confounded justification with sanctification, as Augustine had done before him, and no doubt his failure to distinguish between these two different things was one of the causes which led the Council of Trent to adopt its peculiar soteriological system. Thus he says: "The death of Christ justifies us, first, because it excites love in our hearts by which we are made actually righteous; and, secondly, it destroys sin, by which the devil held us in captivity, so that now it cannot condemn us." Robert Pulleyn held to a relative necessity, and in general followed Abelard.

The latter part of the scholastic period was occupied by the controversies of two schools, the school of Thomas Aquinas and the school of Duns Scotus. Among other subjects of discussion the doctrine of atonement came before the theologians of these schools. We notice that the different views which they take of Christ's sacrifice correspond to the different conceptions which they have of the nature of sin. Aquinas held Augustine's strong doctrine of sin, and his views of the atonement are, therefore, profound, following in general the teaching of Anselm. He would not affirm that the death of Christ was an absolute necessity for salvation, because he thought such a statement derogatory to the divine omnipotence, but he held that it was most appropriate. He taught:

1. That Christ's sufferings were the greatest possible.
2. That they acquired an infinite value from the nature of the sufferer.
3. Therefore they are more than a satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.
4. That the believer takes part in the benefits of Christ's work on account of his mystical union with Him. On account of which he may be said to have suffered, died and risen with Christ. He says: "Christ, through His passion, not only earned salvation for Himself but also for all His members." Through the school of Aquinas the doctrine of Anselm was carried down, slightly modified, to the Reformation period.

On the other hand, the Scotians, because of their feeble, Pelagian views of sin, held loose views of the atonement. According to their idea any creature, appointed by God for the purpose, could have made an atonement for the sins of the world. Christ's sufferings have no proper connection with man's sin, but God, from mere grace, accepts them as an equivalent. Scotus himself says: "Christ's merit is only as of much force as the Trinity is able and willing to accept." This doctrine is called the acceptilation theory, and was, as we shall see, projected into the next period.

Before the Reformation however, there were several sects,

which were persecuted by the Mother Church, but which held the Scriptural doctrine of the atonement. Within the Roman communion itself were earnest men who were the morning stars of the brighter time which was to come. The more outspoken of these, as Wyckliffe and Huss, suffered persecution to a greater or less extent. The more mystical usually avoided it. Conspicuous among the orthodox mystics was John Wessel. He held that the incarnation was not the result of sin, but that the humble form and sufferings of Christ in that incarnation were directly the result of sin. His views regarding the atonement were evangelical.

1. Christ is the Redeemer by manifestation of His divine life.

2. Christ became a mediator for man between God's justice and His mercy.

3. Christ effects this meditation by means of the sacrifice of Himself. This sacrifice is the one all sufficient sacrifice, and human merit is of no avail.

4. For this sacrifice, suffering and death are necessary. It is of value not according to the pain endured, but according to the love exercised. The saint partakes in this sacrifice just so far as he is sanctified.

We now leave the period of Scholasticism and turn our attention to the period of the Reformation, a period exactly opposed in thought to its predecessor, but for which that predecessor was necessary as a preparation.

## II. FOURTH PERIOD. 1517 TO 1710.

As the mind of man is able to consider only one subject at a time, so it seems that the Christian Church has been able to develop but one department of Theology at a time. Thus, it was only after centuries of struggle that Theology proper, Christology and Anthropology were settled in their permanent shape as the foundation for the edifice of that larger truth which was to be built by future generations. With the period of the Reformation, therefore, the Soteriology of the Scripture, which had held a minor position in the thought of the Church, came into promi-

nence and was developed in a way which its importance would have led us to believe it should have received before. The position which this subject occupies in the order of development is, however, the natural one. Step by step the truth must be elaborated. Theology proper must be at the bottom, for without definite ideas of God all other truth is inoperative. Christology, which shows Christ's position in regard to God on the one side and to man on the other, comes next, for unless we understand the position which the Redeemer occupies in the sphere of revelation we will be unable properly to systematize the truth. When the idea of God is established and the position of Christ is appreciated and defined, the Church is ready, and then only is she ready to consider man, the sinner, in relation to both his Judge and his Advocate.

Anthropology, therefore, comes next in order and this was, as we have seen, the study of the Church in the age immediately preceding the Reformation.

At last, to some extent at least, the mind of the Church had apprehended God, had recognized Christ in his unique personality and had discovered man's condition, sunk in sin and misery. When these truths had been settled was the Church prepared to take up the question, how, through this Redeemer, man might be just with God, and then came the Reformation. It must not be supposed that the development of these ideas was entirely successive.

In every period of the Church each part of the system of truth was studied and individuals innumerable have held definite opinions on each, either right or wrong, producing definite results in their lives. It is true, however, that each period has had its characteristic subject, and the order of these subjects has been the logical one. The Reformation was not so much a breaking with the past as it was a return to the past, to the Scriptural doctrine which had been so largely covered by the traditions of men. Justification by faith, the material principle of Protestantism, was not a new discovery by the Reformers, but rather the rediscovery of that truth which Paul had discovered for himself fully fourteen centuries before, "The just shall live by faith."

The study of the history of any particular doctrine in the Reformation period must be of a different character from the study of former doctrinal developments. While before, the Church had been one in outward form at least, now she was divided into several different branches. Therefore in former times the study of doctrine was the study of the views of individuals, or, at the most, the study of the views of some Council, which were after all only the expression of the general opinion of the representative minds of the Church of that day. In the Reformation, however, the individual opinion is of historical value only as it was able to prove itself the expression of the Christian consciousness of a large division of the Church, and so find a place in some one of the numerous confessions or symbols which are characteristic of the age. Side by side developed opinions of all possible shades. The principal types of doctrine concerning the atonement admit of the following classification :

1. The Judicial Theory.

Christ's work is not merely a general condition of forgiveness, but a specific satisfaction for the sins of the elect. Christ fulfilled the claims of the law on their behalf in such a way that God, as a simple matter of justice, must pardon them. His mercy is not seen in His pardon, but in the provision of His grace by which satisfaction is provided. This theory, having its roots in the teaching of Anselm, is usually connected with a belief in a limited atonement. By a limited atonement is meant, not that the merit of Christ's work is not sufficient to save all men, but that He died only for the elect, and that His work had no reference to the condition of the non-elect.

2. The Governmental Theory.

God as a moral Ruler must maintain His dignity and the dignity of His holy law under all conditions. If He pardons sinners He must do it in such a way that His hatred of sin is shown to the universe and that other free agents are not led to think lightly of the character of sin. He does pardon the sinner without any real satisfaction for the sin as far as God himself is concerned, but for the purposes of government He must, while He pardons



the sinner, display His hatred of sin to the universe, and place a condition of acceptance upon the sinner to whom the Divine clemency is to be extended. The sufferings of His only Son constitute the most stupendous display of His hatred of sin to the universe, and faith in Him is the condition imposed upon the returning sinner. This theory, derived from the acceptilation theory of Scotus, is usually connected with the doctrine of an unlimited atonement.

### 3. The Moral Theory.

Abelard was the father of this idea in its modern form. God is ready to receive the sinner without any display against sin or any condition for the sinner, but the sinner will not return to God. God must present some powerful motive to draw out his affection. Nothing could appeal more strongly to a moral creature than the sight of the Creator suffering and dying in order to show him His love. Christ's work, therefore, consists not in paying the penalty of sin, but in drawing men away from sin to God by the influence of His love. This view was also held by many Unitarians who would not admit that Christ was the Creator, but who held that he suffered, as a righteous man, a martyr's death, an example to the world.

### 4. The Mystical Theory.

In order to salvation man must be united to God. The Son of God becomes incarnate, partakes of human nature, undergoes human experiences, and so lifts man by union with Himself out of his sinful nature into communion with and final absorption in God. In this essay the Soteriology of the various divisions of the Church and of the chief sects will be considered under one or the other of these four heads. As, however, the Church of Rome refused a reformation, and projected the scholastic system and morals into the Reformation age, her doctrine cannot properly be treated under the same heads as that of the Protestant bodies. The Roman doctrine of justification will therefore be treated first by itself, in order that, having disposed of all that remains of the age of systems in the age of reform, we may turn without distraction to that Soteriology which is truly reformed.

## I. SOTERIOLOGY IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

When the Roman Church had refused to accept a genuine reformation and had driven the reformers out of her communion, she was placed in a peculiar and awkward position. Claiming to be founded upon the Scripture, she must not allow it to become evident that any of her doctrines were repugnant thereto. The task which was set before her was therefore nothing less difficult than the proving that all the mass of traditions which had developed in the course of twelve centuries and had received the papal sanction was in perfect agreement with the Scripture. For the harmonizing of these many divergent views the Council of Trent held its protracted sessions. The Scriptures plainly teach that Christ's merits are the one all-sufficient ground of salvation and that man is accounted righteous apart from works through faith in Christ. The Romish tradition had continually laid increasing stress upon the necessity of good works as a ground of justification ; therefore the Fathers of the Council must prove both Scripture and tradition to be true and in agreement. The confusion in Augustine in regard to justification and sanctification formed the basis upon which their work proceeded. Justification rests upon two corner stones, the one the merits of Christ, and the other an inward state of holiness in the individual. The one is complete at once and firm beyond the possibility of shaking ; the other is of slow development and of such doubtful quality that no one can be assured of salvation in this life. When, therefore, according to the Council, Christ's merits are mentioned in the Scripture reference is made to the one foundation, while when the traditions speak of works the other foundation is intended. Justification, the judicial and instantaneous act of God, is confounded with sanctification, the progressive work of man aided by the Holy Spirit. Faith is an inward progressive state of godliness infused by God in the heart. Therefore as the man becomes just he is justified. Christ by his sufferings for us obtains for us the grace which, implanted in our heart, produces growth in holiness, and as we become holy we are, to use the very words of the Council, justified more and more. It is because this grace

is not our own, but a gift of Christ, that the Scripture can speak of our salvation as altogether the work of God. According to the decrees of Trent sin is not so much guilt as pollution. When the pollution is removed the former sinner may appear before God justified without regard to his former sins. The grand mistake of this conception is that the effect, growth in grace, is put for the cause, forgiveness of sins. A few quotations from the decrees of the Council of Trent will prove the statements made above. "Justification is not only the remission of sins, but also sanctification and renovation of the inner man through a voluntary acceptance of grace and gifts, whence a man from unjust becomes just, from an enemy a friend, so that he is an heir according to the hope of eternal life." Again, "Through faith alone we are justified, because faith is the beginning and foundation of human salvation and the root of all justification." Opposed to this rather evangelical expression is the following: "If any one shall say that through faith alone the wicked is justified in the sense that nothing else is required that may coöperate toward the grace of justification following, let him be anathema."

## II. LUTHERAN SOTERIOLOGY. JUDICIAL THEORY.

The Reformation in Germany differed from the Reformation in other countries in that it was more personal. We may think of the Swiss Reformation without Zwingli or Calvin, but if we attempt to remove the form of Luther from the Reformation of his "Fatherland" we destroy its life. In this respect its doctrinal development, at least in its early stages, partakes more of the character of the earlier periods. What Luther believed concerning the atonement the Lutheran Church believed. Luther wrote no treatise on the atonement, and yet it was by his heart appreciation of it that he became the power that he was in the Church. He was no schoolman as Anselm, systematically studying the subject objectively. He devoted himself to the subjective acceptance of the salvation freely offered on account of Christ's sufferings and death. Therefore, we do not find minute distinctions in his writings concerning active and passive right-

eousness ; no discussion of the question of absolute or relative necessity nor of the method by which Christ's righteousness is applied. The fact was the great thing to his mind, and his life was devoted to the spreading of a knowledge of the fact among the people whom a cruel priesthood had long kept in ignorance for selfish reasons. Luther laid great stress on Christ's victory for us over our enemies. He believed in the strongest form of the doctrine of personal satisfaction. Commenting on Gal. 3 : 13, he says : "The sole way of evading the curse is to believe and to say with sure confidence, Thou, O Christ, art my sin and curse, or rather I am thy sin, thy curse, thy death, thy wrath of God, thy hell ; Thou art, on the contrary, my righteousness." He also represents the law as saying, "I find Him (Christ) a sinner, and such a sinner as has taken upon Himself the sins of all men ; and I see no sin besides but in Him ; therefore, let Him die on the cross. The Augsburg Confession, composed by Melanchthon, but sanctioned by Luther and his colleagues, makes the following statement concerning justification in the fourth article : "Also they teach that men cannot be justified before God by their own powers, merits or works ; but are justified freely for Christ's sake through faith, when they believe they are received into favor, and their sins forgiven for Christ's sake, who by His death does satisfy for our sins. This faith does God impute for righteousness before Him."

It was at a later date that the Formula of Concord became the doctrinal standard of the Lutheran Church. This formula teaches concerning Christ's atonement :

1. Christ is our righteousness both according to His divine nature and according to His human nature. This is elaborately stated in opposition to certain errors mentioned. He offers a perfect obedience in our place to God.

2. Faith is the means by which this righteousness is applied. This faith is not a bare belief, but a gift of God, by which we recognize Christ as our Redeemer in the words of the Gospel and confide in Him. It is a surprising fact, however, that in this formula the death of Christ is not mentioned specifically as a ground of justification, but only His perfect obedience.

We see, then, that the Lutheran standards teach a judicial theory of the atonement, made by Christ's whole life. Luther developed the idea of Christ's passive obedience, while later, in the Formula of Concord, His active righteousness has the first place. The doctrine of a limited atonement is the logical result of the judicial theory, yet the Lutheran Church seems to have left this conception unformulated or almost to have decided against it in article 11 of the Formula of Concord. Luther's conception of sin was so profound that he was compelled to believe in the absolute necessity of the atonement; and the Church which bears his name in this also followed in his steps.

### III. REFORMED SOTERIOLOGY. JUDICIAL THEORY.

While Luther was contending for the truth in Germany, Ulrich Zwingli was also lifting up a standard against prevailing corruption in Switzerland. Zwingli was a very different man from Luther. He looked at truth objectively without inward struggle. While Luther only came out of the old Church after much agonizing prayer and diligent searching of the Scripture, Zwingli was ready to leave her without a regretful thought. Luther's views of sin led him to his conception of satisfaction through Christ alone. He therefore found his starting point in anthropology; Zwingli, on the other hand, according to his objective method, began with theology, and arrived at his doctrine of atonement from this direction. This difference between the two Reformers is seen in the character of the Churches of which they were founders; for while the Lutheran Church is subjective and mystical, the Reformed Church is objective and exegetical.

But although the leading spirits of these two Churches, and the Churches themselves, differ in their starting point, and method in their search for truth, they both arrive at the same conclusion in all essential things, especially in Soteriology. Zwingli, in the sixty-seven articles written by him in 1523, says: "Christ is the one way of salvation of all who have been, are, or shall be," A. 3. "Christ offered himself once on the cross a sacrifice and victim, making satisfaction forever for the sins of

all who believe," A. 18. "Christ bore our griefs and all our labors," A. 54. In the Ten Theses of Berne which were revised by Zwingli and presented to the conference at Berne in January, 1528, the following statements concerning Christ's work appear: "Christ alone is wisdom, righteousness, redemption and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world," A. 3. "Christ only has died for us and so He only is the mediator and advocate with God the Father," A. 7. The first confession which represented the Swiss reformers was composed at Basil in 1536, and is known as the First Helvetic Confession. This says: "He alone is mediator and intercessor, victim and also priest, Lord and king, so therefore we recognize Him alone and with our whole heart believe that He alone is our reconciliation, redemption, sanctification, expiation, wisdom, protection, justification, and reject every medium of life and salvation except Christ alone," A. 11. From these brief quotations it is evident that Zwingli and other early reformers in Switzerland held the judicial theory of atonement. The distinction between the active and passive righteousness of Christ is not yet apparent, nor had the discussion concerning the limits of Christ's work arisen. Zwingli's statement that Christ made satisfaction for the sins of all who believe is consistent with either the doctrine of an unlimited atonement or with that of a limited atonement.

It was reserved for the clear, analytic mind of Calvin to gather in itself all the rays of light from the earlier Reformers and concentrate them in one bright beam which has illuminated theological truth ever since. Calvin belonged to the second generation of Reformers, and therefore he was at a great advantage in his labors; for he was not compelled to take the lead in the first rupture with Rome, and he found many blocks already hewn in the quarries of Biblical theology, which he could easily put in their places in the edifice of systematic theology. No Protestant creed since his time is altogether unaffected by his system. Calvin believed most firmly in a judicial atonement in which the sinner is justified by the righteousness of Christ. He says: "God, at the same time that He loved us, was in a certain ineffable manner

angry with us, till He was reconciled by Christ." He taught that Christ's work for us was accomplished by means of His active and passive righteousness, thus he says: "In short, from the time of His assuming the character of a servant, He began to pay the price of our deliverance in order to redeem us. Yet, more precisely to define the means of our salvation, the Scriptures ascribe this in a peculiar manner to the death of Christ. He himself announces that He gave His life a ransom for many, and Paul teaches that He died for our sins." (Inst. Bk. II., Ch. 15: 5.) Considering his views upon predestination it is hardly necessary to remark that Calvin believed in a limited atonement. The Second Helvetic Confession, composed in 1566, two years after his death, bears the marks of his influence. It teaches:

1. Christ assumed a true human nature and in it suffered for us.
2. He is the only and eternal Saviour of the world.
3. Man is saved only by faith in Him. (Caput 11.)

This confession, of course, adopts the judicial theory, but is silent concerning the extent of the atonement. The passive righteousness of Christ is emphasized but His active obedience is not mentioned.

The French Reformed Church looked to Geneva for her theology. Under the influence of Calvin were trained her young men, and when they returned to their native land they brought back something of his spirit, a spirit which led many of them to a martyr's death.

The Gallican Confession, which became a standard of the French Church, was prepared by Calvin himself, and therefore simply presents his views as ratified by the Synod at Paris, 1559, In its 13th article it says:

"We believe that all that is necessary for our salvation was offered and communicated to us in Jesus Christ. He is given to us for our salvation, and is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption; so that if we refuse Him we renounce the mercy of the Father, in which alone we can find refuge."

The Belgic Confession, composed two years later, might, per-



haps, be classed among the Dutch symbols. It was, however, written in French by a Frenchman, Guy De Bres, for French refugees, and only became a Dutch confession because these refugees were in Holland. It may, therefore, be considered a product of the French Reformed Church. It teaches strongly a judicial atonement for a limited number through the passive righteousness of Christ. We have now reached a point in the history of the doctrine when the pioneer work of the Reformers was accomplished. That work was done, as we have seen, in Germany and France, but especially in Switzerland. Holland received her doctrine from the Swiss and German Reformers, and only at a later time did she elaborate upon it herself. As the Jesuit Strada has expressed it, "Nor did the Rhine from Germany, or the Meuse from France, send more water into the Low Countries than by the one the contagion of Luther, and by the other that of Calvin, was imported into the same Belgic provinces." The Belgic Confession was adopted by the Synod of Dort, and the canons of that Synod agree in their doctrine of atonement with the conception of the Swiss Reformers. These canons teach:

1. God must receive satisfaction for sin and man is not able to render it.

2. The Son of God therefore makes a most perfect sacrifice and satisfaction for sin, of infinite worth and value, abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world.

3. His death derives its value both because He was a perfectly righteous man and endured the wrath of God against sin, and especially because He was the Son of God and therefore a person of infinite dignity.

4. All who believe in him are justified from all their sins. This is the doctrine of a judicial atonement by the passive righteousness of Christ. The Synod of Dort taught the doctrine of a limited atonement, holding that Christ's work is sufficient to save all men, but was intended only for the elect. Thus it says: "The death of the Son of God is sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world;" and a little further on it says: "It was the will



of God that Christ by the blood of the cross, whereby He confirmed the new covenant, should effectually redeem, out of every people, tribe, nation and language, all those, and those only, who were from eternity chosen for salvation and given to him by His Father." (2 Head of Doctrine, A's 3 and 8.)

The Reformation in England and Scotland, however much it differed from the Reformation on the Continent in matters of polity, still agreed with it in all essential doctrines. The judicial theory of atonement was held by all those accounted orthodox. The Scotch Confession of 1560 taught:

1. Jesus offered a voluntary sacrifice for us to the Father.
2. This sacrifice consists in His sufferings from the cruelty of men and from the wrath of God.
3. There is no other sacrifice for sin.

The Scotch Confession is not definite upon the question of a limited atonement, nor does it take into account the work of Christ throughout His whole life. The Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church are in substantial accord with all the Reformed symbols of Europe. Christ's work is sufficient for our salvation and there is no other way for the returning sinner but by faith in Christ. They teach a limited atonement, but not so strongly as the Westminster Confession, two generations later. This says: "The Lord Jesus, by His perfect obedience and sacrifice of Himself, which He, through the Eternal Spirit, once offered up unto God, hath fully satisfied the justice of his Father, and purchased not only reconciliation, but an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, for all those whom the Father hath given to Him." (Caput 8:5.) In another place it decides against an unlimited atonement with as much force as the Synod of Dort. The words are these: "As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so He hath by the eternal and most free purpose of His will, foreordained all the means thereto. Wherefore, they who are elected, being fallen in Adam, are redeemed in Christ by his spirit working in due season; are justified, adopted and sanctified, and kept by His power through faith unto salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified and saved, but the elect only." (Caput 3:6.)

#### IV. UNORTHODOX SOTERIOLOGY. MORAL, GOVERNMENTAL AND MYSTICAL THEORIES.

Of the larger body of separatists from the orthodox fold, the Socinians, disciples of Faustus Socinus, come first. The Socinians were the Unitarians of the Reformation period, and, of course, it would be impossible for them to accept the judicial theory held by the Reformed and Lutheran Churches. If Christ was simply a great human prophet, He could never offer a sacrifice equivalent in value to the sins of the world. Socinus held that God was able to pardon sin without satisfaction, justice not requiring that so long as sin is removed. Against a vicarious atonement he proposed six propositions.

1. If sin is punished in Christ it is in no sense forgiven, and there is no display of mercy on the part of God.

2. The substitution of penalty is impossible. God forbids man to punish children for the sins of their fathers; therefore He will not do Himself what He forbids in others.

3. Christ did not offer a sacrifice equivalent to the sins of the whole world, even if the substitution of penalty is allowed. This idea, of course, followed the denial of the divinity of Christ.

4. Christ owed a perfect obedience and perfect submission to the divine will for Himself. Therefore, He could not give His righteousness to another.

5. If Christ has satisfied all the claims of divine justice, so that nothing more is due from man, it is unjust in God to demand faith as the condition of forgiveness. If man is forgiven because of Christ's work, without personal righteousness, it follows that man may continue in sin and yet be saved.

Socinus taught that Christ was a great prophet, who is the Saviour of men in the sense that they are to follow His example. His death is to all the example of the most perfect obedience to the will of God. He says: "Christ is the Saviour of His faithful ones, because by His example He continually leads and conducts them along in that way of salvation which they have already entered." He also held that the death of Christ was a confirmation of the promises of God. Compare the following: "There-

fore Christ died that the new and eternal covenant of God, of which He Himself was mediator, might be established and strengthened \* \* \* and so His blood continually cries to the Father that He may be mindful of those promises, which Christ Himself had announced in His name, and for the proving of which He had not refused to shed His blood."

Christ's death was also the necessary door by which He entered into His glory. Thus: "Hence He died that through death He might come to His resurrection." The Socinian idea of atonement is the moral theory, and this theory, while it lessens infinitely the greatness of Christ's work, yet from its nature makes the scope of that work unlimited in its peculiar character.

It was natural that between the judicial theory of atonement, held by the Church, and the loose, moral theory of Socinus and his disciples, there should be a middle ground occupied by those who believed in Christ's divinity, but who were unwilling to accept all the conclusions of the Lutheran and Reformed theologians. Such a position was occupied by the Arminian party, of which Arminius, Grotius, Curcellaeus and Limborch were leaders. Their original creed was presented to the Estates of Holland and West Friesland as a remonstrance in 1610. In this document there is little divergence from the orthodox symbols in regard to the atonement. It does, however, teach unlimited atonement by the death of Christ, which atonement is made effectual only for those who believe. The words are: "Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, died for all men and for every man, so that He obtained for them all, by His death on the cross, the redemption and forgiveness of sins, yet no one actually enjoys this forgiveness of sins except the believer." (Art. 2.)

The Arminians advanced against the Reformed doctrine of satisfaction for sins many of the arguments of Socinus, but they nevertheless held that Christ's death was a sacrifice appointed by God as a substitute for the sins of men. It is in no sense an equivalent for sin but is the condition, which God in his infinite wisdom has made, by believing which the sinner is forgiven, just as under the Old Covenant the sacrifice of an animal was the

condition of pardon. Against the Reformed doctrine Curcellaeus said: "Not therefore, as they commonly think, did Christ render satisfaction by enduring all the punishments which we deserved on account of our sins, for in the first place that does not pertain to the idea of sacrifice, for sacrifices are not payments of debts; secondly, Christ did not suffer eternal death, which was due to sin, for he only hung on the cross a few hours and was raised again the third day. Lastly, although He had endured eternal death, that death would not be the equivalent for the sins of the whole world, for His death was only one, which could not be equal to all the deaths which were owed, one by each man for his own sin."

The governmental theory of Christ's work was developed by Hugo Grotius to an extent unknown before. It therefore deserves especial mention. Grotius tried to solve the problem by discovering what is the nature of the law against which the sin is committed. Most of the theologians of the time held that the moral law was an absolute and essential quality of Deity. If it belong to the very essence of God, of course sin could not be forgiven until God's nature had received satisfaction; but if, on the other hand, the moral law is simply a command laid upon men, having no connection with the eternal being of God, its penalties can be remitted by God when He sees that no evil results from such remission, just as an earthly sovereign can remit the penalty which he has imposed when he sees that the ends of justice will be satisfied thereby. While a promise once made is binding upon the maker, a threat is not. God can therefore threaten sinners with eternal death and afterward freely pardon them. Two motives led God to determine on the salvation of the rebellious race, a desire that reverence and love toward Himself might not fail among men, and a desire to show the splendid spectacle of His love toward sinners, to the universe. Therefore He had the most weighty reason for pardoning and restoring sinners, and He would have done so by a free act of His will except that regard to His government forbade it. If He and the sinner had been the only intelligent beings in the universe He could and would have done

it at once; but He is the Ruler of many moral creatures, and it would be disastrous to His government to pardon sinners without showing at the same time his hatred of sin, and without making a condition for the sinner. God has, therefore, in His infinite wisdom, appointed the sufferings and death of His only begotten Son as the exhibition of His hatred of sin, and belief in Him the condition imposed upon the sinner who would accept the proffered mercy. Grotius laid great stress upon the moral effect of Christ's sacrifice as a motive to win the affection of men, and he considered Christ's life of active obedience to have been lived as an example for men.

Thus we see that from the barren uplands of the scholastic period have flowed down three streams of soteriological thought into the fertile meadows of the Reformation period. From Anselm came the judicial theory of atonement, which was in general adopted by the great reforming Churches; from Abelard flowed the theory of a moral atonement, which modified so as to destroy Christ's divinity, was developed by the Socinian body; while the ideas of Dun Scotus were preserved by the Arminians, at whose head stood Grotius.

It remains for us to consider the mystical theory of several of the smaller sects and the peculiar views of certain individuals.

The Mennonites believed in a doctrine of justification by a mystical union with Christ. The believer through faith becomes united to Christ, and as Christ's life becomes his he is not only forgiven his past sins, but comes into a state of holiness. They resemble to some extent their bitter enemies, the Roman Catholics, in confounding justification with sanctification. The Mennonite Confession says: "Through a living faith we acquire a true righteousness, that is pardon and remission of all sins, as well past as present, so that also He pours in or upon us abundantly, through Jesus and the power of the Holy Ghost, a true righteousness. The result is that from evil we become good and from unjust, just." (Art. 21.)

The Quakers would not have denied the judicial theory of atonement, but they also laid great stress upon a personal union

with Christ. It is the formation of Christ within us which is the one thing all important, and, as He is formed in the believer, the believer is sanctified and, as thus just, is pronounced just before God, not on account of his outward good works, but on account of his personal union with the Divine. Among the mystics may also be classed the Moravians, who, while professing the orthodox Lutheran doctrine, also laid preëminent stress upon the vital union with the Divine Man. Spener and the Pietists, at whose head he stood, while holding firmly to the orthodox doctrine of justification for the sake of Christ's work, paid so much attention to the problems of personal piety that they were sometimes in danger of appearing to believe in the necessity of good works as a ground of salvation. It was held by some that it was dangerous to press the idea of salvation by faith alone too far, for fear of consequences disastrous to morality. Within the Reformed Church arose the school of Saumur, which enrolled among its defenders Amyraldus, Testard, Placæus and others whose names have become familiar to the student of theology. They did not deny the judicial theory of atonement, but taught that it is unlimited in its extent and that it is possible for all men to be saved. God has by a general decree given Christ as a mediator for the whole race; but, since He foresaw that no sinner would repent and believe in his own strength, He has made a special decree by which He has elected some of the lost race to salvation for the sake of glorifying His Son. This doctrine was condemned by the Reformed Church. Within the Lutheran Church divisions were caused by the too refined speculations of Osiander, who attempted to distinguish between pardon and justification, teaching that justification is inherent and pardon relative. He supposed that only the divine nature of Christ became our righteousness. He was opposed by Stancarus, who asserted that only the human nature suffered for us. Piscator, who was driven out of the Lutheran Church, and who entered the Reformed, held that Christ owed His active righteousness for Himself, and, therefore, that we are only benefited by His passive righteousness. These minor discussions had very little influence upon the Church at large.

The statement, "All progress is through conflict," is well illustrated by the history of Soteriology. Every advance which has been made in the doctrine of redemption has had its opposing error. Creeds, symbols and confessions have been proposed for the purpose of defining the true doctrine and as a protection against heresy, but the creeds become obsolete, the symbols narrow, while the confessions, stated to guard against error, are found by succeeding generations to have shut out valuable truth. Just because Christ is the God-man, who by His life and work has wrought out a complete righteousness for all who are united by faith to Him, is it impossible for the Church to express in any form of words the entire truth. If it were possible to include within the limits of one confession the whole truth, it would be proven thereby that neither the person nor the work of Christ were infinite in their character.

Not in vain, however, have been the attempts of the Church to formulate her belief. By this process, the truth, which Christian consciousness has already evolved, is fixed beyond the danger of loss, and a ground secured from which further advance may be made. To that man who is being led into all truth by the spirit according to Christ's promise, does it ever become increasingly clear that apart from the law the righteousness of God is revealed, the righteousness of God by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe.

## VIII.

### THE PLACE OF THE IDEAL IN COLLEGE LIFE.\*

BY PROF. C. ERNEST WAGNER.

We all require a goal towards which we may direct our energies, a power beyond as well as in ourselves. The capabilities of excellence are inherent in each one of us, but they will never be developed unless nursed and incited by some ideal amid proper surroundings. The latent power of will and the energies of mind are as helpless as the lungs without air, or as the heart without blood, if not themselves vitalized by a power that is not inherent in them. Every Archimedes must have a fulcrum beyond the world which is to be raised.

It is in this sense that I wish to speak of an ideal. It is no mere fantastic figment of the brain, the child of an imaginative man's fancy, as some would have you believe; no Utopian dream of the closet; no creation of human councils; no device of the State; no contrivance of the schools. It is the most real of all the realities that God has established in the world. Having mastered that conception, let us consider definitely the place and scope of the ideal in college life. How are we to apply it here? What is the ideal college life?

Every student, be he boy or man, must determine that for himself. As temperaments, tastes and ambitions differ, so necessarily will ideals; but I plead with you, each one, to set up your ideal now, if you have not already done so. Do not drift through college without one, and then at the end of your course look back and see what it might or should have been. That is unutterably sad. Let me sketch for you, in brief what, from my standpoint, would be the ideal college life.

To be ideal and contribute, as it naturally would, to the making of an ideal man, it should be ideal, first of all, physically;

\* Substance of an address delivered at the opening of the Fall term of Franklin and Marshall College, September 10, 1896.



that is to say, the bodily conditions should be, as nearly as possible, perfect. *Mens sana in corpore sano* is a trite formula, and yet I feel constrained to make it the text of this part of my discourse. In all human life the physical basis is of prime importance. College life, to be ideal, must have this same foundation. The student should aim to be physically perfect, sound as to his body, I may even say beautiful; for the human form in its perfection is the highest type of beauty. And here he may find his ideal embodied in the standards of the ancient Greeks, the most cultivated of people, who thought physical weakness or imperfection cause for shame and loathing, and who gave most painstaking care to the development of manly strength and beauty. True, in recent times we seem to be getting back to the standards of the Greeks, and perhaps there is little need for me to inculcate this lesson. The "physical culture" idea has laid hold not only of our college students; it has led captive men and women in every walk of life. Like all good things, it may be, and is, abused. It becomes a "fad," and in many instances is carried to ludicrous, not to say injurious, extremes. But, in the main, I think it a healthy reaction and rejoice in its widespread vogue.

Bodily health with its concomitant beauty is for its own sake a sufficient incitement to care and attention. But for the student, as for all brain workers, there is another and a higher motive. No man can do his best work unless his brain is in a normal condition, and the brain, being a part of the physical organism, cannot possess, much less exercise, its full powers unless the whole body be vigorous, pulsating with perfect health. There may be, of course, an abnormal or morbid activity, independent of physical lassitude; but it must necessarily be of short duration and feeble in its outcome.

How the body is to be developed and how kept in a healthy state, common sense, a purely animal instinct, will, it seems to me, teach any man. All he needs is the will to put his natural intelligence into practice. I cannot help feeling that any man sins, and that egregiously, who, through disinclination, false industry,

or pure indolence, disregards the simplest laws of health, neglects personal cleanliness, eats injudiciously, and fails to exercise with regularity and vigor, not to speak of more wanton sins, such as sensual indulgence and brutal dissipation in all its forms. He sins against himself, first of all, by reason of weakened powers and impaired usefulness ; against his daily associates, by reason of irritable temper and general incompatibility ; against posterity—the innocent children through whose veins his sluggish, impure blood must one day flow ; and, last of all, against his God, in whose image we are told man was first created. Young men, and college students in particular, need to think more on these things than they do ; they need to be reminded, to remind themselves day by day, of the duties they owe to their bodies ; and, above all, to hold themselves to those duties, to discharge them as conscientiously as any other college task.

You as students come here not exclusively for study, for the routine work of the classroom. You come to enjoy a charmed existence, which is the right of every youth while passing through life's brightest season. The old poets, you remember, when they wished to express the acme of human happiness, the very seventh heaven of earthly bliss, sang of "*halycon* days," the time of the winter solstice, when the halycon, or king-fisher, built her nest—that brief period of calm between two spells of storm, when a strange, unearthly peace brooded over land and sea. "*Halycon* days" they were. Beautiful figure, beautiful thought, is it not ? These are your "*halycon* days." Though you may not know it now, you will know it later on, when the storms begin again. Like all who have gone before, you will look back to these quiet, happy, nest-building days, and call them, as we all have done, "*halycon* days." Make them "*halycon* days" now. Be supremely happy while you may. No man can do his best work while unhappy. Hence it is as much your duty to be happy in this world as in the next. Every living creature is able to exert greater power when the mind is strengthened in its activities by the glow of a cheerful spirit in a healthy, flawless body.

Physically, then, the ideal student, according to my standard,

is a high-spirited, alert young fellow, who indulges with vim in all healthful out-door recreations, who throws himself heartily into college sports, and who, by holding to an honest, sportsmanlike spirit, strives to place college athletics on a plane that shall be an honor, not only to his *Alma Mater*, but to the cause of inter-collegiate sports as well. The records of our larger colleges show that the athletic men can and, as a rule, do stand well in their classes. So far as I can see, there need be no diminution of brain activity because of physical perfection. In all reason, there should be corresponding gain, both in quality and quantity of work done. In short, my ideal student would be a clean, wholesome young animal, with the fresh, untainted blood of youth bounding through his veins, who sheds dyspepsia and all other student ills as the duck's oily back sheds the rain of heaven. Or, if you like the figure better, I would have him a fine specimen of youthful purity and vigor, physically fit to become the life-long mate of the fairest, highest-bred woman in the land.

And now we approach a higher plane in the ideal college life: higher, as mind is higher than matter, brain superior to brawn. Here we need to think more closely; here we need yet more ideal views. In our land, with regret, aye even shame, be it said, there is much that is erroneous, utterly reprehensible, in the prevailing views of education. Even the so-called "higher education" is dragged down into the self-same mire. Need I tell you what I mean? We are living in the deadly atmosphere of Utilitarianism, intellectually breathing the poisonous miasma at every inhalation; the symptoms are all about us; they confront us in the men and women we meet every day—chronic cases, incurable patients, for the most part. If we but keep our faculties alert, exercise our intellectual senses, so to speak, we shall detect the poison in every whiff; we shall recognize the symptoms in every passer-by, and what is more to the point, we may count ourselves of all men most fortunate if we keep our own minds free from the contagion and our beautiful ideals intact and unshaken. ✓

It is the modern utilitarian view of education that is blighting

our intellectual life and is keeping us groping along the lower levels. And at this point I do not wish to be misunderstood or to have my words misconstrued. I am not slurring or depreciating normal schools, business colleges and institutions of that class. In this busy, practical age they have their legitimate place. An institution which, like the Eastman Business College, for example, frankly advertises in its circulars: "Young men educated for profit," and which fits them directly and exclusively for business service, for usefulness in the commercial walks of life, such an institution, I say, is doing its chosen work, and doing it with all possible accuracy and despatch. It has its place and deserves its due meed of praise. Having said that of it, however, I have said enough. On the other hand, had I the eloquence of a Cicero or a Demosthenes, I should not cease reiterating, until I should have instilled into American minds and implanted in American hearts the essential, irreconcilable difference between such special training (for that is all it is) and education, in its deepest, broadest, highest sense—true education. What that is, what it involves, college men, if any class, should learn and appreciate; and having once learned, having once appropriated the glorious truth, should go forth into active life resolved each one to be a little, consecrated wafer of leaven in the great, sad, heavy lump of modern utilitarianism.

What education is, the higher education, you can feel and understand for yourselves, if you but will, far better than words can describe. Matthew Arnold's familiar phrase comes nearer it than anything I can now recall. It is "to try to know the best that is known and thought in the world, irrespectively of practice, politics, and everything of the kind; and to value knowledge and thought as they approach this best, without the intrusion of any other consideration whatever." It is that indefinable something ("culture" we call it in its manifestation) which lifts a man to a higher plane than his fellows occupy; transfigures him, as it were; opens up to him a new world, a world of ideas, it is true, and yet a very real world to him, a world which he would not exchange for all the gold buried in this poor old earth of ours, for

all the earthly pleasures, titles, honors, associations, which uneducated men hold dear. It is a something that enters his very being, a something that he lives, a something that transforms his character, modifies all his standards, and fills him with chagrin and an unspeakable abhorrence when he sees its fair flowers exposed in the market-place to be bid and chaffered for as material, every-day commodities. When Agassiz, the high-souled disciple of science, was approached by a committee of educators who sought, by promise of fabulous reward, to tempt him to their service, his immortal reply was: "Gentlemen, I have no time to make money." Could the grand, underlying principle of his ideal life—for it was ideal, though devoted to pure science—have been expressed in fitter words?

True education is non-professional in its aim. It is the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, for the very love of it, for what it is to the student. What it may fit him for or bring him in is a secondary matter. And here I think it fitting to quote some noble sentiments most happily expressed by President J. G. Schurman, of Cornell University, in a paper read before the Second Annual Convention of the Collegiate Association of the Middle States and Maryland, held at Princeton College in November, 1890. He says, and his words have no uncertain sound: "I venture to assert that the only vindication of the outlay of energy, time, and money devoted to college education is that knowledge is a good in itself. The attempt to justify it as useful for some ulterior end, as, for example, success in life, is not less preposterous than the defence of righteousness on the ground that it has the promise of the life to come. \* \* \* We only degrade it when, to stem that materialization of modern life which measures all worth in terms of money, we attempt to recommend it on other grounds than its own inherent excellence and adaptation to the noblest longings of the soul. \* \* \* The educated man, as compared with the uneducated, sees more, feels more, wants more, is interested in a vastly greater variety of objects, and, in short, leads a larger, fuller, and richer life. He is touched by emotions, haunted by thoughts, and moved by ideals which are incommunicable to minds that have

not been nourished at the breasts of human science and culture. The masses of men live on stimuli that come from the here and the now. But education multiplies objects of interest throughout the limitless expanse of space and the ever-enduring course of time. It has been said that the object of education is to train men to think. It were truer to say it gives them something to think about. It is not in the activity of thinking (which seems to be evoked by all sorts of occasions), but by the abundance and excellence of material upon which thought operates, that the man of liberal education is the superior of his fellow-thinkers."

These bold, inspiring words open up to your view the "Elysian Fields" of culture; and in proportion as you enter those fields with eagerness and joy, there to browse on the fabled heartsease, glistening with the dews of Hymettus, will your college life be ideal intellectually. The true conception of education and the well-defined taste for what is highest and best are the "open sesame" to the treasures of the intellectual life. Endowed with these, every book you read, every observation you make, every association you form, will be but a part of your education. You will be, each one of you, the personification of the poet's ideal scholar, who "finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything," and will not, shut in by a narrow horizon, seek, like a certain wise, bookish precisian, of whom Emerson tells us, to emend the master's text to read: "Sermons in books, and stones in the running brooks."

In this work of cultivation, remember, we dare not stop short with books. If we do we shall have come but a little way. We shall have learned but a small part of the lesson it is meant we should learn. It was Goethe who said:

"Einen Blick ins Buch hinein und zwei ins Leben,  
Das muss die rechte Form dem Geiste geben."

Letters are all very well up to a certain point; but Life is a far greater schoolmaster. Letters, in short, are built upon life. Without it they could not exist. They are but the reflection of it—the reproduction, inadequate and impartial at best, of just so

much of life as the mind of man is capable of reproducing. Life is the great original source whence all that is written is drawn. Books are only secondary sources which combine and arrange for us the results arrived at by original investigators. We use them because our own individual experience cannot be universal.

If there be any great poet or thinker in modern ages who exemplifies this principle it is Shakspeare, "the myriad-minded." Let me quote from the first of Professor Ten Brink's five published lectures on Shakspeare, entitled "The Poet and the Man." He says: "His powers of observation and combination were, no doubt, turned by Shakspeare at an early age upon his own proper domain, the study of man. The little world which surrounded him, and the world within his own breast, offered him perfectly ample material for this study, and as his needs grew greater, so also did the circle of his experiences widen. He lived in a little town where rural work was combined with town occupations. His father was a farmer and merchant. Already in early youth he was brought into close contact with various forms of human activity. He accustomed himself to observe them all, to inquire into the aims, the methods, the implements of each. And this habit he retained in later life. Thus it is that he knows the technical name of every object in every field of activity, that he can represent with such exactness every detail of work, complicated though it may be, in any trade. Hence the traditions or the hypotheses according to which Shakspeare is now a butcher, now a wool merchant, or, again, a typesetter, a physician, or a soldier."

It is Shakspeare who teaches us that "all the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players, who have their exits and their entrances." With him we watch them "play their many parts." The action lasts a life-time, the scene is ever shifting, and, if we have his eye, the interest never flags. The men and women about you, your college mates, your own manifold nature within you—these are the things that literature and, above all, Shakspeare, incites you to study. Begin now; cultivate the habit of observation; learn the lesson well, and, if spared, the chances are you will some day be wise old men.



Then there is the world of Nature, to which I can only allude in passing. The poets have sung her charms so unremittingly, her lore they have interpreted so eloquently, that it would ill become me even to attempt to win for her new devotees by any feeble praises I might sing.

Let me only remind you that you must enter her service young would you ever know her well. Her secrets, I am convinced, she reveals to those only whom she counts her children. But to those children she is a very good mother. She teaches them many things which the uninitiated never dream of knowing. She is shy of tardy wooers, cold to half-hearted lovers ; but if you learn to know her young, and are faithful in your allegiance, you may be sure she never will betray you. For has not Wordsworth—perhaps the greatest Nature poet of all time, and the truest interpreter she has ever had—has he not told us so in these undying words ?

\* \* \* \* “ Nature never did betray  
The heart that loved her ; 'tis her privilege,  
Through all the years of this our life, to lead  
From joy to joy ; for she can so inform  
The mind that is within us, so impress  
With quietness and beauty, and so feed  
With lofty thoughts, that neither evil tongues,  
Rash judgments, nor the sneers of selfish men,  
Nor greetings where no kindness is, nor all  
The dreary intercourse of daily life,  
Shall e'er prevail against us, or disturb  
Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold  
Is full of blessings. Therefore, let the moon  
Shine on thee in thy solitary walk ;  
And let the misty mountain winds be free  
To blow against thee ; and, in after years,  
When these wild ecstasies shall be matured  
Into a sober pleasure, when thy mind  
Shall be a mansion for all lovely forms,  
Thy memory be as a dwelling place  
For all sweet sounds and harmonies ; oh ! then,  
If solitude, or fear, or pain, or grief,  
Should be thy portion, with what healing thoughts  
Of tender joy wilt thou remember me,  
And these my exhortations ! ”



In this beautiful county of Lancaster, with its majestic Susquehanna, its meandering Conestoga, its wooded hills and park-like vales, there certainly can be no excuse for neglecting Mother Nature. She allures you in most engaging fashion ; she makes the lesson so easy for you that none but the most indifferent, the hopelessly apathetic, or the downright lazy, can hold out against her blandishments. I hope to hear of not only one but several walking clubs during the mellow autumn days that are so soon to come.

Again, the social side of your nature needs cultivation, no less than the intellectual and the physical. To that end you need associates ; and it is right here in college, as you doubtless know, that you will be apt to form (if you are newcomers), that you have already formed, or are forming now (if some little way on in the course), friendships that will endure through life. "There is no friend like an old friend," the song has it, and, as between man and man, you will find that true, I think. The friends you may make later on can never be to you quite the same as the friends you made in college. You will be sure to feel this when you come back in after years to your class and fraternity reunions. It becomes, therefore, a matter of no little moment that you should at the outset find associates and friends, and then that they should be such as shall satisfy you ; such as shall be congenial ; such as shall meet the requirements of your nature. Friendships, to be satisfying and lasting, must, of course, be fully mutual. With care and discrimination make to yourselves such friends, and your college life shall be to you a time of social quickening, a period that shall call forth all that is generous, unselfish and companionable—*gemüthlich*, as the Germans say—in your nature.

But we have not done. There is another and the highest stage to reach ; the summit is yet unattained. And here we touch the real man, the *ego*—real because imperishable. Man's true elevation does not come through his body, nor through his intellect, nor through his sensibilities, as such ; but through his moral nature. This brings him into contact with the Divine Ideal. If

this attribute of his being be dwarfed, while the others grow. what boots it all? We shall have a gnarled, misshapen, imperfect creature, a monstrosity, not a man. If that which is Divine in him be dormant, wherein does he differ (in essence) from the other animals? No. The ideal man is developed as to his spirit no less fully than as to his mind and his body.

Here we are in a different realm. Science cannot lead the way. The learning of the schools is mute. Even reason, though God-given, when left to its own resources, is at fault. We may imagine we have found the *summum bonum* in the intellectual life. We may surround ourselves with all the adornments of culture and refinement, with all the niceties which minister to man's higher nature and appeal to his finer sensibilities; we may succeed in eliminating well-nigh all that is animal and earthy in our constitution; and in this rare and artificial atmosphere we may persuade the poor, starved, emaciated soul into believing that we have solved the problem for it, that it is being fed upon "the bread of life," that the spiritual realities are its own for time and for eternity. In the rapt utterances of the poet, in the keen sensitiveness to and appreciation of beauty found in the lover of Nature and of Art, we may recognize a nearer approach to this true spiritual insight. And yet, a man may see

"The gold that with the sunlight lies  
In bursting heaps at dawn,  
The silver spilling from the skies  
At night, to walk upon,  
The diamonds gleaming with the dew."

His soul may be stirred to its profoundest depths in the presence of a noble painting or a stately edifice; it may tingle with delight in the appreciation of a rounded period, an eloquent sentiment, or an uplifting poem; it may thrill with ecstasy at the rhythmic flow of a heavenly sonata; and yet be deaf to the "still small voice" of God.

This is no creed of man's compounding, I would have you understand. It is an eternal truth, revealed by God, who is a Spirit, to the responsive spirit in man—that part of him which

is like God, and which alone can receive and appropriate Divine truth. The spirit, quickened and kept alive by exercise, hears messages and receives impressions, as real to it as, yea more real than, the testimony of the senses.

“The soul that rises with us, our life’s star,  
Hath had elsewhere its setting, and cometh from afar.

\* \* \* \* \*

Hence in a season of calm weather,  
Though inland far we be,  
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea  
Which brought us hither,  
Can in a moment travel thither,  
And see the children sport upon the shore,  
And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore.”

There must be, you observe, an occasional “season of calm weather.” Do you know what that means in this busy, bustling, pleasure-seeking world? There must be times when you withdraw yourself from the fast-rushing tide of human life and human affairs; when you exclude everything and everybody, even your dearest, closest friend; wrapped in a solitude so complete that the released soul seems to hover on the borderland of spirits, about to launch forth again upon that “immortal sea” which brought it hither. In such moments as these, awful yet ecstatic in the extreme, you gain more true knowledge—wisdom, I should say—than all the books and schools in creation can teach you in a life-time. For it is then you learn what there is within you, whence you have come, whither you are going, and what you are meant to be. It is in such moments as these that you laugh at the modern materialistic psychologists who dissect, and weigh, and biologize, and theorize, and deduce, until their poor brains reel, in the vain effort to solve the mystery of man’s being and demonstrate that there is no such thing as soul in him, because it cannot be cut out of his brain cavity or extricated from his great nerve-center and placed in alcohol for the delectation of the gaping crowd.

But you ask me, “How are you going to prove that there is such a soul, such a power, element, attribute, or whatever you choose to call it, in man’s being?” Do not for a moment sup-

pose I am going to make the attempt. I cannot do it any more than the scientists can. I know only too well that each individual man must make the discovery for himself, or live out this little span of life in ignorance. All I can do, or all you can do, is to give the soul a chance to verify itself; to unbar now and then the shutters of worldliness; to release the long-imprisoned spirit, that it may soar aloft and abroad, wheresoever it will. Be assured the olive branches of revelation will be brought in fast enough.

But what has this to do with "The Place of the Ideal in College Life?" A great deal; because it is the highest of all ideals. The ideal that unchains the human soul, and gives it spiritual air and spiritual food, is the character-building ideal; and character, you know, is the man. It is higher than intellect, immeasurably above physical culture. It is the life of the man, the ideals of his prophetic moments transformed into daily thoughts, words and deeds. It is the influence that evokes

"That best portion of a good man's life,  
His little, nameless, unremembered acts  
Of kindness and of love."

It is the inherent principle which distinguishes him from the mass of his fellows who are swayed by every passing whim, be it for good or evil, susceptible to every influence, creatures of impulse, the "unstable as water" type of men. But what a grand thing is character! The noblest creation on God's earth, it seems to me, is a man of character. Humanly speaking, he is the greatest power for good in the economy of Nature; his influence is unlimited; the possibilities of his being are beyond compute. How is he formed and fashioned? As I have intimated before, by the ideals which he allows his untrammelled soul to choose, and to which, being chosen, his will holds him fast from day to day. Of such stuff the ideal man is made. He is a harmoniously cultivated man; cultivated as to his intellect, his sensibilities and his will; but above all, it seems to me, as to his *will*.

If a man is to have a character (and who would be without one, after he has come to recognize the nobility of it in another?)

he must begin to build it young. It is not a commodity to be acquired in a day, or a week, or a month, or a year. If a college boy would have it when a man, he must have the groundwork for it well laid before he leaves his *Alma Mater*. It is not a detachable something, like a garment, which can be put off and laid away until convenience or necessity require it to be brought out again. Tell me not that there is no chance for its development, no possibility of its exercise, here in college; that one must "do as the boys do," or be isolated and unpopular. There never was a greater fallacy, a more cowardly subterfuge. It is right and proper, and necessary to a distinctive college life and college spirit that you should do as the boys do in all matters where conscience suffers no violence. But to disregard that silent monitor; to set principle aside merely from fear of being thought odd or incurring displeasure, is one of the most unjust, most cowardly, and, at the same time, most unwise things a boy can do. That it is unjust to one's self and cowardly in the extreme, you will readily concede. That it is also unwise, experience and observation will amply prove. Principle, backed by character, is a manly quality, and manliness wins respect wherever found—preëminently in a community of college boys. Even though it run its invincible front against custom, tradition, and prejudice, it will yet win the respect due its quality.

We have found then, if our premises and conclusions be correct, that the ideal college life is within the reach of every individual student, if he only keep it persistently before him, day by day, in its three-fold yet single form; and have the will to live up to the ideal, so far as human capabilities will permit. To recapitulate; what, in few words, is the ideal college life?

It is not that life which keeps a young man poring slavishly over books, to the utter disregard of recreation, health and social pleasure. For then he reverts to the bookworm type, and the bookworm is a man shrunk back into the chrysalis. It is not that life which binds a young man to classroom tasks and conforms him to classroom standards, only that he may lead his fellows in term marks and finish with an honor. For that

makes of him a machine ; and a machine, you know, is some points below a bookworm. Nor yet, again, is it that life whose incentive is the bread-winning power ; a shrewd investment, which will in time bring him in his living and help him feed his wife and babes. That makes of him a speculator, a broker in educational values ; and such broking, above all other forms of the trade, is illegitimate. Nor, finally, is it that life which leads a young man to cherish the notion that Commencement Day ends all, and that he shall then go forth a full-fledged scholar, a doughty knight armed *cap-a-pie* for life's tournament. Knights of this sort are usually unseated in the first encounter, and are dragged back to cover by kind friends, with their smart plumes trailing in the dust. Of all fond dreams, this is surest to meet with speedy disenchantment.

College life is a success exactly in inverse ratio to the student's cherished belief that it is the mastery of all human knowledge. A brief experience in the world, a few tilts with some of our self-educated men who have never rubbed their backs against a college wall, effectually opens one's eyes to this truth. Happy that student, young or old, primary or advanced, who makes the discovery while yet in college. The remainder of his course may be of some account to him.

No ; college life is only the outer court of the temple of Knowledge, where, among the quiet cloisters, novitiates linger until discipline has proved them. Now and then they catch a glimpse behind the veil ; but it is only a casual glimpse, a fleeting suggestion. If worthy, if those glimpses awaken in them a longing for the mysteries beyond, then may they, after patient waiting, be consecrated to the service, become ordained priests ; and by a life within the shining courts, a life devoted to the joyous duties, the irksome tasks, that rise from day to day, approach ever nearer to the great ideal—live, as nearly as man may, the ideal life.

Although not the most important, yet we notice as one worthy of remark the fact that the REVIEW gives permanence in its pages to addresses and papers that form a part of the current history of the Church and its institutions. If we wish to refer to these we naturally turn to the REVIEW, where they are mostly preserved.

But now we turn to the principal question on which the continuance of the REVIEW seems to turn, viz., the financial question. It is not a secret that the REVIEW has scarcely, if at all, been fully paying expenses.

We may remark here that it is no new thing for a quarterly review to be hampered for want of pecuniary support. We know of one instance, and there have, no doubt, been other instances, in which the quarterly of a much stronger Church than our own was compelled to discontinue for want of such support. In the nature of the case, in ordinary times, there are comparatively few who subscribe for such a publication, few as compared, for instance, with the number that subscribe for a weekly periodical. But the importance of such a periodical as a quarterly review, and the good it accomplishes, are not to be measured by the number of subscribers it obtains. It is of interest mainly to the clergy and a limited number of laymen. Yet its influence may indirectly reach out to many more than its subscribers.

Our own REVIEW has no reason to be discouraged by its pecuniary support. There is reason to believe that if a little more personal effort had been made, and the prompt collection of outstanding dues had been attended to, it would have been self-supporting. It is said by some who have made somewhat of an investigation of its affairs that even with its present subscription list it would pay expenses if its publication were economically managed. This difficulty then resolves itself simply into the work of obtaining a few more subscribers. Surely these can be obtained if any reasonable effort is made. If each pastor would subscribe, or, which might be better, if each consistory would subscribe for him, the work would be more than done. How little it would be if each congregation, through its consistory, would

take the REVIEW and hand it over to its pastor. Besides, there are a few laymen in almost every charge who would be able and willing to take a copy of the REVIEW, not only for his own personal interest in its pages, but in order to support an important periodical in the Church.

As an inducement to increase its subscription list, we may refer to another consideration, which may weigh with many, viz., the prospect that the interest of its articles may be increased under new management in a *new series*. We have referred to some of the embarrassments that have affected the REVIEW for a time. Writers have been slow to write lest they might, in some way, interfere with the Peace Basis. We believe that condition of things has largely passed away. We do not think any amount of freedom in discussing theological questions would now interfere with the peaceful state of the Church. Old party lines have been largely obliterated. The harmony existing in all the practical interests and affairs of the Church would not be affected by any reasonable freedom in the discussion of theological questions.

Instead of this, we believe that interest in the theological questions of the age serves to add to the interest in practical matters. The two are closely allied. The more interest that is taken in the questions that pertain to the life and genius of the Church, the more interest will be felt in the practical work of the Church. We might give instances of this. The discussion of the catechism, its history and genius, and the catechetical system, as contrasted with the emotional and revival system, accomplished much good in a practical way, in leading our pastors to value and practice catechizing in their congregations. We might give other examples. The theoretical is always closely allied to the practical. The theological interest, notwithstanding much that is said to the contrary, is closely allied to the practical work of the Church. The interest in missions will be found to be gauged by the views held in regard to man's fallen estate and the nature of the work required to redeem him. Once let a view very prevalent in our age prevail, that all religions are equally good for the peoples, or nations, that hold such religions; that Christianity is



only one, it may be the best, among world-religions—let such views prevail, and the very sinews of the foreign work are at once cut and destroyed. How many are there even to-day who think that Buddhism is good enough for the nations, China and Japan, that hold it, and therefore there is no call for Christian missions among them. We might give other examples. Every theological dogma has a practical interest corresponding to it. Of course our theological seminaries are expected to ground their students in theology, but there is need of study and research on the part of those who have gone out into the pastoral work for still further study, and such a periodical as the REVIEW may be an important inspiration and help. Who can estimate the influence in this way, of the early copies of the REVIEW! Even now they are referred to and studied by later generations of ministers.

True there were giants then engaged in its pages; but there is no reason why its influence should not be felt in this day. We have writers who are able to supply its pages with interesting articles. The question is how to call them out.

Our own opinion is, without intending at all to dictate to any one, that the REVIEW would prosper better by having *one single editor*, and then by securing for him a syndicate of writers, say ten or twelve, who would engage to assist him by furnishing articles. This would not be designed at all to exclude other writers, but merely as an ensurance of so much support regularly. The Editor-in-Chief might then lay out his plan and policy, and suggest at times, topics or subjects he might wish to have treated.

There are subjects calling for consideration and discussion in this age. We believe that our theology and philosophy may be effectively applied in their treatment. Why then should we not add our mite to the general discussions of the age? How often we hear the remark, "our system of thought would tend to bring into clearer light such and such questions in theology and sociology." Well, let us bring our system forward. We have a system. No one has gone earnestly through our institutions, literary and theological, without feeling that we have a unique system of thought. Let us not be over-modest. Let us use the

philosophy of Rauch, Nevin, Schaff, Harbaugh and Higbee, not to mention living teachers, and apply it in discussing the live questions of the day. As a Reformed Church, the only one except the Reformed Church of America, in this country, our title is older than the Presbyterian and some other Protestant Churches. Why then, though comparatively small in numbers, should we not assist among the Protestant Churches of this country?

One of the organs, the main one, indeed, for doing so, is our QUARTERLY REVIEW. Let us gird up our loins and resolve to maintain this historic periodical, trying to make its later days reflect the glory of the earlier.

Upon the death of Dr. Harbaugh, about thirty years ago, by appointment we took charge of the REVIEW. For a short time we had Dr. Higbee associated with us. For fourteen years Dr. Titzel has been associate editor, and for the last few years Dr. Rupp has also been an associate editor by appointment of the Alumni Association.

Our resignation has not been suggested by any difficulty in maintaining the REVIEW. Our belief in the ability to sustain it must appear from the preceding remarks. But we feel that we have rendered our full quota of service in the thirty years we have been editor of the REVIEW. We feel loth to leave the relation in which we have stood for so many years to the readers of the REVIEW and to its coeditors. But we have faith in young blood, as well as in the judgment of old age, and we have felt that some new energy brought to bear in the editing of the REVIEW might prove to its benefit and advantage.

As we write these lines our introductory of thirty years ago comes up before us. Dr. Harbaugh had been its editor, and promised much for the years to come. Suddenly his life was cut off, and his editorial mantel fell upon us. We tried to do what we could, in our inexperience, for the maintenance of the REVIEW. It was a difficult position for us to fill, but with the help we received it continued to prosper, and as it now passes into other hands we trust it may continue to prosper in the time to come,

even more than in the past. It shall be our own pleasure to render all the aid to it we can. Let its friends rally around it and there will be no difficulty in maintaining it. There is a committee now, appointed by the Alumni, to look after its condition, with Dr. Santee as chairman, and from what we have heard from him there will be no great difficulty in providing for its future wants. With such worthy and renowned ancestors in the REVIEW, it would be unworthy their memory to allow it to be discontinued now. We hope, therefore, that the Board will resolve to continue its publication, and make such appointments as may subserve this end.

T. G. APPLE.

## NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

**THE CHRIST OF TO-DAY:** By George A. Gordon, Minister of the Old South Church, Boston. Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston and New York, Publishers. 1896. Pages 322. Price, \$1.50.

This book was written for theological thinkers among ministers and laymen. It is dedicated "To the students in our theological seminaries, to those entering the Christian ministry, and to the new generation of Christian laymen, whose unspeakable privilege it will be to recover, both for the reason and the heart, the old and almighty faith in the infinite Christ." The book, in fact, is a plea for a theology that shall be adequate to the idea of the infinite and eternal Christ on the one hand, and to the religious and moral ideas of the present age on the other. No age, not even the apostolic, has ever apprehended the fullness of the revelation of Christ. Out of the treasures of wisdom and knowledge which are hid in His person, Christ, who is ever living and present with the Church to the end of time, has something new to communicate to every age, and every new age therefore must have a new theology. "The philosophy of Christianity," says Dr. Gordon, p. 182, "born amid the wreck of the Roman Empire, renewed in the grand contest with the corrupt Church of the Middle Ages, and that seemed adequate to the narrow world of the Puritan, is to-day totally inadequate in view of the magnitude of the Christian task. The sense of history and the conviction that Christianity has a cosmopolitan mission are bound to work out a new theology, in which the new shall be that which was true from the beginning."

The principle of this new theology, according to our author, must be the person and consciousness of Christ. There was a deep truth in the saying of Protagoras that "Man is the measure of all things." But, of course, this can not be true of the individual man; it can be true only of the perfect and universal man, who is "the Eternal Humanity in the life of the Infinite," p. 136. We are glad to find thus distinctively recognized the Christological principle as the central principle of theology. This principle may at times have been applied in a way that was crude and fantastic, as if the idea of the person of Christ could serve as a logical concept from which a system of theology might be derived by a simple dialectical process. But in the sense that the truth revealed in the person and consciousness of Christ must be the light by which all true thinking concerning God and divine things must be illuminated, in this sense the Christological principle is the true principle of theology, and no

theology can be Christian that violates this principle. It is in this sense, as we understand him, that Dr. Gordon maintains the validity of the Christological principle.

In regard to the motive of the book under consideration, and in regard to the class of readers for which it is intended, we can do no better than let the author speak for himself. In regard to the first point he says, p. 34: "We find ourselves in the heart of a Christian inheritance of overwhelming wealth. It is the task of this, as of every generation, to ascertain its value and to use its full dynamic resources. To understand the old in the light of the new is the most difficult, and at the same time the most urgent of undertakings. In particular, the highest conception at which humanity has arrived is the conception of Christ; the conception of God follows that and is conditioned by it. We can never transcend it any more than we can go beyond the order of the world. We can only enter into a generous rivalry in the endeavor to fathom its infinite significance for mankind. This the author has tried to do, in such form as the limits of the discussion imposed." In regard to the class of readers for whom the book was written, the author tells us that it is meant "for all those who feel the greatness of the common Christian inheritance, and who at the same time are at a loss to understand its meaning for the generation to which they belong. There are thousands in our midst who long to hear the wonderful works of God in their own tongue. Into the dialect of present thought the meaning of the Divine Wonder must be put. The understanding, burdened with the sense of the infiniteness of the Christian message, must coöperate with the living spirit. For the most part, then, the persons addressed in this discussion are those who have not broken with historic Christianity, who stand in the consciousness of its grandeur and finality, but who desire a better understanding of that which holds them with a grasp so beneficent."

The perusal of this book will be stimulating and helpful especially to the preacher, whose business it is to speak of the wonderful works of God to men now *in their own tongues*—to interpret the truth of Christianity in the dialect of present thought. We, therefore, commend it to our readers. W. R.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NICENE THEOLOGY: With some Reference to the Ritschlian View of Theology and History of Doctrine. Lectures delivered on the L. P. Stone Foundation at Princeton Theological Seminary, in January, 1896. By Hugh M. Scott, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Chicago Theological Seminary. Chicago, Chicago Theological Seminary Press, 81 Ashland Boulevard. 1896. Price, \$1.50.

These lectures, which are six in number, "present the origin and development of the Logos Christology, with frequent reference to negative criticism—chief of all that of the school of

Ritschl." For preparing such a course of lectures, Dr. Scott's studies and extensive learning eminently fitted him. The volume before us is consequently a very able and scholarly presentation of the subject to which it relates. It is, moreover, also very timely, as the tendency of much of the theology of the present is of such a character as to persuade students that the articles of the Christian faith rest upon a very unsubstantial foundation. Dr. Scott, however, shows successfully, we think, that the Nicene theology which is contained in the articles of the Christian faith is a normal development of apostolic and New Testament teaching. The special subjects of the different lectures are, respectively, *Critical and Biblical Prolegomena to the Development of the Nicene Theology of the Divine Christ*, *Laying the Foundations of the Nicene Theology*, *Development of the Doctrine of the Divine Christ upon the Ground of the Christian Tradition*, *Imperfect Apprehension of the Divine Christ in His Work of Salvation*, *the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit and the Trinity as Necessarily Involved in that of God and the Divine Christ*, and *the Doctrine of the Divine Christ in its Relation to the Rule of Faith and to Dogma*. Besides the lectures, the volume also contains a large number of footnotes, which add very much to its value. It is a merit of the work that nearly all quotations from the sources and from German works are translated into English, and consequently can be more readily understood. Though we are not able on all points to agree with the author of these lectures, yet in the main we believe him to be thoroughly correct in his views, and we therefore heartily commend his book to all who are interested in the subject of which it treats, and especially to those preparing for the ministry.

**IN HIS FOOTSTEPS:** A Record of Travel to and in the Land of Christ, with an Attempt to Mark the Lord's Journeyings in Chronological Order from His Birth to His Ascension. By William E. McLennan. New York, Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati, Curts & Jennings. 1896. Price, 50 cents net.

The character of this little book is well set forth in the subtitle. It is a record of travels in the Holy Land. Its purpose is so to present the life of Christ as to make it interesting to young persons, and to impress its leading facts upon their minds in a clear and definite manner. For the purpose intended it is a most admirable work. All classes of persons will, indeed, find it replete with instruction. Besides the letter-press it contains several good maps and many striking illustrations, which add to its value. It is in every way well suited for use in the Sunday-school, and it would be well if Sunday-schools generally would make use of it in the instruction of their pupils.

**STUDIES IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.** By B. B. Loomis, Ph. D., D. D. New York, Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati, Curts & Jennings. 1896. Price, in paper, 25 cents net ; in cloth, 40 cents net.

The systematic study of the Bible is very important if we would rightly understand its precious truths. To indiscriminate reading of it are unquestionably due many of the errors into which men have fallen concerning its teachings. The increasing tendency to make it a systematic study is therefore greatly to be commended. To be a guide and aid to the student in such study of "The Acts of the Apostles" is the design of the present volume. It consists of a course of twelve studies, in which the entire book of Acts is considered. The first study is devoted to an analysis of the book, the second to the introduction, the third and fourth to the Pentecostal Church, the fifth to the Transitional Church, and the remaining seven to the establishing of the Gentile Church. The work is admirably suited to the purpose for which it is intended, and those who will use it as a guide and aid will find it very helpful. Like the preceding volume, it is well fitted for use in the Sunday-school. It has been especially prepared as a companion volume to Dr. J. L. Hurlbut's *Studies in the Four Gospels*.

**SUNSET MEMORIES.** By Rev. Nicholas Vansant, of the Newark Annual Conference, Author of "The Life and Character of Rev. H. Mattison, D. D.," "Rachel Weeping for her Children," "Entire Holiness," etc. With an Introduction by General James F. Rusling. New York, Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati, Curts & Jennings. 1896. Price, \$1.00.

This book is both biographical and historical. In it the author gives an interesting account of his family and personal life and ministry, together with chronological glimpses of his pastoral charges and work, and memories of the New Jersey and Newark Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In his introduction, General James F. Rusling says : "It is a brief history of a New Jersey family of sterling life and character that began life down in the Jersey 'Pines' a century or so ago, and now consists of over two hundred descendants, not one of whom has become a pauper or a criminal, or a drunkard even, but all of whom have added to the honor, the prosperity and the wealth of the State, and bid fair to do so yet for long years to come." The work, we would yet add, is written in an attractive style, and will be found pleasant and entertaining reading not only by the friends of the author, but by others also.

VOL. XXIII

NEW SERIES

No. 1

THE

REFORMED

# Quarterly Review.

EDITED BY

THOMAS G. APPLE, D.D.

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*Professor of Theology*

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# PROSPECTUS

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## Reformed Quarterly Review.

THE MERCERSBURG REVIEW was commenced in January, 1849, and it has been published regularly ever since, except during the years 1861-1867, when its publication was suspended chiefly on account of the civil war then existing in the country. During the past thirty years it has supported the system of philosophy and theology taught in the institutions of the Reformed Church, located for a time at Mercersburg, and afterwards at Lancaster, Pa., while it has labored also in the general interest of science and literature, in common with the theological quarterlies of this and other countries. It became thus more or less identified with a school of philosophy and theology in the Reformed Church, known as the Mercersburg school. During this period of over a quarter of a century, the Reformed Church has grown into larger proportions and established other literary and theological institutions, while great progress has been made also in the theological life of Christianity and the Church throughout the world.

In dropping its old name and adopting a new one, it aims to advance with this progress and widen its sphere of usefulness. As the only theological Quarterly published in the Reformed Church in this country, it will seek to be an organ for the whole Church. So far as it is a denominational organ, therefore, it will stand on the doctrinal basis of the Heidelberg Catechism, the most hetical confession of the Reformed Churches of the Reformation, and the only confession of the Reformed Church in the United States; and it invites to its pages articles of approved literary ability from all in that Church who hold to that confession, whatever may be their minor differences in theological views.

But while it holds this denominational relationship and character, it will continue to be open to all who take part for the interests of scientific and theological learning, as these are related to the progress of Christianity in general. Taking for its motto the words of our Lord, "that ye shall make you free," it will be in sympathy with freedom of inquiry and discussion, and will regard as necessary conditions for harmonizing all antagonisms. It is fully aware that denominational boundaries may still be necessary in the Church, yet it believes that in the domain of theologic inquiry these lines of separation should be least visible. It will, therefore, be in harmony with the spirit of union which is the great unifying and saving power in the Christian Church throughout the world. While it is primarily devoted to the Reformed view, it will welcome articles also of a general scientific and theological character, and of science and religion, when true to themselves, must tend to the same end, to the promotion of union.

The *Reformed Quarterly Review* is edited by Thos. G. Apple, D. D., J. M. Tittel, D. D., and is illustrated by eminent writers in the Reformed and other Churches. It is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October of each year. Each volume contains four numbers, 160 pages.

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No. 2.

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*EDITORS:*

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